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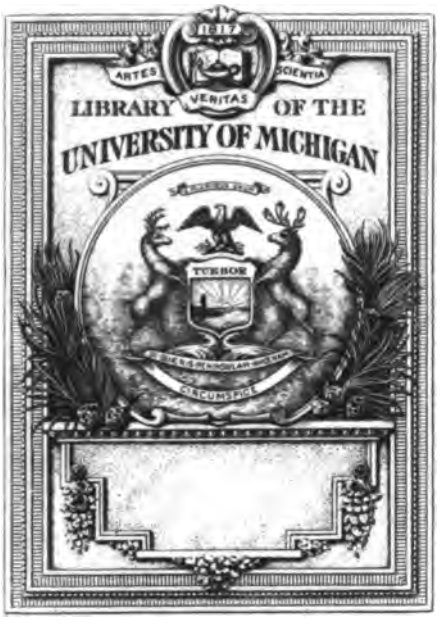

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OF THE

CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED 1866.)

VOLUME VI.—NEW SERIES.

EDITOR

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

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1906.

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As revised at the Annual Meeting, June 20th, 1901.

I.—The Society shall be called the "Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society."

II.—The Society is formed for the purpose of investigating, describing, and preserving the antiquities of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North of the Sands.

III.—The Society consists of the original members, and all those who may have been or shall be elected either at a General or Council Meeting upon the nomination of two members.

IV.—The Annual Subscription is 10/6, due and payable on the 1st of July in each year; and no member shall be entitled to the privileges of the Society whilst his or her Subscription is in arrear. A composition of Ten Guineas constitutes Life Membership. *N.B.*—Ladies elected prior to August 30th, 1881, pay only 5/- per annum.

V.—The Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Cumberland, and the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Westmorland, if members of the Society, shall be Patrons thereof.

VI.—The other officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, an Editor, two Auditors, a Secretary or Secretaries and Treasurer, all being honorary officers, who shall all be elected at a General Meeting of the members of the Society to be held each year.

VII.—The management of the Society shall be in a Council consisting of the officers above named, excepting the Auditors, and twelve other members, who shall be annually elected at the same time as the other officers. The Council may, if it think fit, elect one of its members as "Chairman of the Council."

VIII.—On the recommendation of the Council, the Annual Meeting may elect as honorary members, gentlemen non-resident eminent for antiquarian knowledge, or gentlemen resident who shall have rendered valuable services to the Society, such gentlemen to have all the privileges of membership without the payment of Subscriptions.

IX.—The Society shall hold two or more Meetings in each year at some place of interest, at which papers shall be read, to be printed, if approved by the Editor and Publication Committee, in the Society's *Transactions*.

X.—The Council have power to appoint local secretaries, and to authorise the formation of Committees for local purposes in connection with the central body.

XI.—The Council shall meet about the month of April to settle the place or places at which the General and other Meetings shall be held in the season next ensuing.

XII.—The Council may appoint two members of their body, who shall, with the Editor, form the Publication Committee.

XIII.—Members may introduce a friend to the ordinary meetings of the Society.

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MEETINGS HELD BY THE SOCIETY,

1905,

FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

1.—Carlisle ... ... April 27

2.—Furness District, Swarthmoor, Pennington, Urswick, Conishead ... ... June 29

Aldingham, Gleaston, Stainton, Furness Abbey ... June 30

3.—Bowes, Rokeby, Wycliffe, Darlington ... ... Sept. 14

Richmond Castle, Easby Abbey ... ... Sept. 15

THE OLD APPROACH TO AMBLESIDE FROM LOW FOLD:
BY W. COLLINGWOOD, R.W.S., 1841.

TO FACE P. 1.

ART. I.—*Ambleside Town and Chapel:* Some Contributions towards their History. By MARY L. ARMITT.*

Read at Carlisle, April 27th, 1905.

IF some mighty *Hamel* of old did actually with a few followers make his *sate* or *sæter* at Ambleside (thus giving his name for all time to the place), it must have been then but a tiny clearing in a great forest. Below, amid the marshes of the lake-head, lay the ruins of that once busy Roman camp—or city, as Camden called it—silent and desolate, the haunt of bittern and harrier. From it ran diverging paths, already getting sunk in bog, one of which, rising to the ancient track over Kirkstone, crossed the Stock Beck on the first rocky ground by a ford known to tradition as Halicar. It was here the settlers made their homesteads, with perhaps the huts of a few Celtic herdsmen clustering round. Above them was the flowery field protected for the summer hay, with the open summer pasture for cattle beyond. Below them in the deeper soil of valley flat, lay their single ploughland. And —since it is probable that the colony was built above Stock, where the later Ambleside Hall and the majority of the older houses stood—in front of them ran the noisy beck, bounding down the gill and slackening for its sideway, encircling loop, alike a check to foe and a motive power for the wheel that ground their corn.

Little heed would the far-off governing forces of early England pay to such a settlement. Warfare and anarchy consumed the energies of Northumbria for some hundreds

* The facts found in the following paper rest on the authority of early deeds existing in the Public Record Office and in two private collections, along with a mass of later material found at Rydal Hall. For full use of the latter the writer is indebted to Mr. le Fleming; and for assistance in procuring the former to Mr. W. Farrer. Mr. G. Browne has also furnished important additions from his MSS. Helpers on stray questions have been almost too numerous for mention.

of years: this her border-land to the west, of mountain and forest, was left a desolation, and the life hidden within its fastnesses was unknown.

I.—The Land and its Tenure.

Early Norman documents give no place-names within the twin valleys of Rothay and Brathay, which meet at the great lake. It is only forest, and park, and deer that we read of hereabouts. We learn by later deeds that Ambleside lay in the forest of Troutbeck, nigh to the forest of Rydal, and that it belonged to the manor of Windermere and consequently to the Barony of Kendal. When that wide Barony was divided between the two sisters de Lancaster—their brother William, the third of that name, having died without children, in 1246—Ambleside, with Troutbeck, Applethwaite, Windermere, Crosthwaite, and parts of Grasmere, Langdale, and Loughrigg, fell to the share of Alice, who had married William de Lindesey. Barring a life-long grant to John and Joan de Coupland from the Crown, it remained with her descendants, Lindeseys and Coucys, till they died out in a granddaughter of Edward the Third. By grants from the Crown it became successively the great Duke of Bedford's, the Duke of Somerset's, and the Earl of Richmond's, who married the last Duke's daughter. Edward IV. alienated it from them in order to reward his adherent in the wars, Sir William Parre, whose family already owned by long descent another portion of the old Barony of Kendal, and were seated at the Castle. When Henry Richmond brought the fortunes of the Lancastrians again uppermost, this estate of his mother's was naturally restored to her; and it was from that time called the Richmond Fee. It was granted by Henry VIII. to his son, the Duke of Richmond; by James I. to his son Charles; by Charles II. to his wife, Catharine of Braganza; and was subsequently sold to the Lowther family, who yet possess the lordship of it in the person of the Earl of

Lonsdale. The name Ambleside first appears, as far as I know, in that interesting charter of 1275, by which Lady Margaret de Brus (niece of Alice) endowed Roger de Lancaster with the forest of Rydal, part of her mother Helwise's inheritance (Charter Rolls, 3 Edw. I., No. 68, m. 4, No. 11). The boundaries of that forest are therein declared to descend "from the Swythene by a certain path that is called the Weythesty, unto the park of Amelsate, and so following outside the park unto Scandalebec, and so following Scandalebec unto Routha." Margaret in addition gives Roger "the whole of my part of Amelsate and Loghrigg, with all the appurtenances, by their right bounds, without any retention, with common of pasture within the bounds of Gressemere, for all manner of his beasts." Part of Loughrigg remains to the lords of Rydal, as representatives of this Roger, to this day; but there is no trace of their holding any portion of Ambleside after the date of this deed.

When William (or Walter) de Lindesay died in 1272, no mention is made of places hereabouts in the enumeration of his property. Only after mention of the Manor house of Windermere, of the hamlet of Applethwaite, the deed goes on to say, "He also held the forest of Trutebeck, worth 40*l.* yearly, which used to be rendered at the term of St. Michael, and a certain park there with a certain plough of the valley" (is this Ambleside ?) "which might be yearly worth 10 marks in all issues if let to farm. He also held there 3 acres of meadow worth 3s. yearly and the pannage of Appelthwayt and Trutebeckes with the outlying herbage 50s. yearly" (Mr. Farrer's Lancashire Inquests, &c.)

When in 1283 the next William de Lindesey died, the Inquest takes full note of "Gresmer" and "Langeden," without any mention still of Ambleside or Loughrigg. The deed, however, follows up the recital of "Trutebek, Appilthwayt and Wyandermer" by "There is a certain forest there called Skamdal, whereof the herbage is worth

17*l.* 6s. 8d. yearly, and the pannage 5s. yearly." This, doubtless, is Scandale; and we must remember in connection with the variations of spelling of names to be found in early deeds, that they were set down phonetically by Court officials, generally strangers, who wrote them as they heard them from the mouths of the sworn men of the district, acting as jurors.*

In 1324, when Ingelram de Gynes died we first hear definitely of the status of Ambleside (*Inq. p.m.*, No. 60, 17 Edw. II.).

The property of this Frenchman, Lord of Coucy, to whom the heiress Christian de Lindsey had been married, is declared to have included "The hamlet of Hamelsate, part of the said Manor" (Windermere), "in which are 11 tenants at will rendering yearly 12 li. 4s. 3½d. A mill there worth 8s. yearly,"—which is the first mention of a corn-mill. All these parts were suffering from the devastations of the Scots, as the deed tells us. In Loughrigg were 10 empty tenements, and "In the said hamlet of Hamelsete was 1 tenement which ought to render 13s. 4d. and now nothing, because in the hands of the lord for default of a tenant."

The Inquisition of Christiana de Gynes (*Inq. p.m.*, No. 74 (1 Nos.), 8 Edw. III.) his widow, in 1335 runs:—"Item in the hamlet of Hamelsate are 11 tenants at will, rendering yearly 12li. 4s. 3½d., at the said terms;" (St. Martin in winter and Pentecost) "one water corn mill, worth 8s." William, her son, was declared to be her heir; and his *Inq. p.m.*, 17 Ed. III., gives his brother Ingelram as his heir. Edward III., however, in 1346, alienated the lordship to reward a man who had fought well for him, and had taken the King of Scots alive at the battle of Neville's Cross.

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* Mr. Farrer is kind enough to write, in connection with Skamdal in this deed, "I believe that during the 12th century many townships were created as it were by purprestures or encroachment in the forest. Hence the great change between Doomsday Book and the first inquests and extents."

A deed of 1375 (*Inq. p.m.*, No. 29, 49 Edw. III., pt. I.) states that the Manor of Wynandermer with its members, Hamelsate one of them, had been granted to John de Coupland and his wife, with reversion to Ingelram de Coucy (created Earl of Bedford), and Isabella his wife, daughter of the king, Edward the third. Their only daughter died without heirs.

Again, in 1436, John, Duke of Bedford, is declared (*Inq. p.m.*, 14 Hen. VI., No. 36) to have been possessed of "the Forest of Trowtbek, with a certain parcel of land there called Amylses." Further, "And there is at Wynandermere aforesaid one court held twice yearly." The King (Henry VI.) his nephew, inherited.

In a document (Min. Acc^{t}, Bdle. 1044, n. 4) of the year 1438, "Amelsett" pays into the Treasury, by the hands of its reeves" (or graves, as they were called here), "John Mackereth and Henry Mackereth, and through the Receiver of the Lordship, Walter Strikeland, Esq., the sum of £16 5s. 10¼d." For "gressum" or fines paid at change of owners, several of the Ambleside folk are said to be in arrears.

In 1444 (*Inq. p.m.*, 22 Hen. VI., No. 19) John, Duke of Somerset, is declared to have been possessed of "two parts of the lordship or manor of Hamelset, worth 16li. 5s. 9½d." by grant of the King (the third part was in the hands of the Duchess of Bedford as dower). His little heiress Margaret is stated to be two years old.

An undated document at Levens probably comes before the last two Inquisitions, as from internal evidence it seems to have been written between 1379 and 1403. It is a Rental, and gives full particulars of "Amylsyde"* as of other places in the Richmond Fee. It then held as many as 28 customary tenants—a great increase from the

* It is to be noticed that the final *sate*, *sett*, or (later) *sed*, here swings for the first time to *side*. In like manner, the last syllable of Hawkshead fluctuated before the 17th century between *set* and *side* before it settled finally into *head*, the equivalent of *sed*.

11 of 1324 and 1335—whose names and payments reaching altogether to £28, are written down. The full-sized holding (later called estate) seems to have consisted of a messuage, two houses, 6 acres (or thereabouts), and meadow, paying to the lord 26s. 8d. yearly. There are eleven of these, and in three cases we find that two men share at one—possibly a relic of the ancient custom West speaks of, which ensured the tillage of the ground, should a man be called off to war, by his neighbour and partner. There are likewise five holdings of less acreage paying 13s. 4d., which probably represent the original full-sized ones divided. Finally there are some of irregular amounts; two full-sized holdings at 20s., three "tofts" with 3 acres and meadow each, at 20s., 16s. 4d., and 13s. 4d. respectively; and one other holding in the possession of two men, which carries the large rent of 33s. 4d. Of this we shall hear more.

The 13s. 4d. holding was later described as "of five cattells," or carrying the right to pasture five beasts on the common. The full-sized one then would be of ten cattle. An attempt to check the tendency to sub-division of the original holding is shown by an Order of the Manor Court of the time of Henry VIII.—"It is ordered from henceforth that no Tenement pertaining to this Lordshipp or within this Lordshipp shall be divyded or parted."

But splitting, by inheritance and sale, was inevitable; and we find in a Rental of 1675 (Browne MSS.) as many as 43 estatesmen represented, who some of them pay so low a rent as 1s. 8d. Only four holdings of the original 26s. 8d. remain.

Now all these men—even the few who rented a toft or worked the corn-mill—were agriculturists. They held their land by customary tenure (that is, by unwritten law that was rooted in the past) inheriting from father to son, but paying to the lord besides rent certain small dues or taxes, as well as fines or gressums and heriots at the death respectively of lord or tenant, or upon the sale of the

holding. Customs in the various village and hamlet communities differed, and those of Ambleside seem, by the time we gain evidence of them, peculiarly free. That the usual green-hew rent was paid we know from the accounts of the Ambleside Hall estate in 1705. This "for Ambleside" is set down as 2s. 6d.; but it was usually 2d. on each holding, and represented an acknowledgment to the lord of his superior claim to the woodland, though the tenant likewise had personal claims upon it. But the absence of a private lord saved the Ambleside men from the trying boon services exacted of the tenant, who often had to work for his superior several days at the hay harvest and sheep-shearing; nor did they give the boon hens that were claimed from those neighbouring parts of the Barony of Kendal that were in the Marquis Fee. They came off peculiarly well, too, in their fines. When in 1574 Queen Elizabeth caused a sworn jury, drawn from the district, to state the ancient customs of the Richmond Fee, it was declared that the gressum or fine for old tenants was fixed at a sum representing two years' rental of the estate, and new tenants at three years'; except for the men of Ambleside, who paid but the equivalent of one year's rent. It is stated a little differently in an old MS. copy (possessed by Mr. F. Pollitt), of the composition of the tenants with James I., where, after the recital of the usual fine, the exception is noted of Ambleside and Troutbeck—"Two Hamletts of the Richmond Fee whoe payed but One year's rent upon change of Lord and Two yeares rent upon change of Tenn^{t} for the Fine." The more favourable statement seems, however, to have been generally acted upon, for we find Edward Forrest, when he succeeded to the family estate in 1626, paying but the amount of his yearly rental. The fixing of the gressum was a matter of the first importance to the tenant, since the payment of a lump sum of money, if large, or frequently paid (through untimely death) was a great burden on the little estate. Private lords raised the fine when they

could; and the happy fortune of an Ambleside man may be inferred from the fact that while he paid in the seventeenth century £1 6s. 8d. on entering a full-sized holding, his neighbour of Rydal paid (unless by special arrangement) £26 8s. Nay even, on the death of the lord in 1806, the amount rose to £52 16s.

King James I's attempt to upset the whole land-tenure of these parts, on the excuse that the old obligation on the tenants' part of military service at the Border was void by the union of Scotland and England, as well as the energetic way in which it was met by the statesmen, has been often narrated. In this the Ambleside men took a foremost part. Mr. Gawen Brathwaite and George Jackson were two of the six principal men who undertook on behalf of Prince Charles' customary tenants of the whole Richmond Fee, to pay to him the sum of £2,700, in order that he would confirm to them their ancient rights. They apparently evaded the persistent demand that they should give up the titles to their property, and finally secured victory against their crowned antagonist, at the expense of the fine, which they undertook to pay in three instalments, viz., £700 on November 11th, 1619; £1000 on November 11th, 1620; and £1000 on November 11th, 1621. A bond exists among Mr. Browne's MSS., in which eleven men of Ambleside and eleven of Troutbeck make themselves responsible for the share of the two townships in the second instalment of £1000, which is £203 16s. 9d.

Another attempt was made by the Stuarts to ignore the ancient customary rights of their tenants. Charles II. proposed, as Lord of the Manor, to dispose of all the woods of the Barony of Kendal that were not fit for the navy, and appointed seven commissioners to view and mark the trees. The survey showed to how large an extent Ambleside was forest yet, for it contained 321 trees large enough for ship-building, valued at £19 6s. 0d., as well as other timber granted to the purchaser (Col. Richard

Kirkby) that was valued at £181 14s. 8d. But again the statesmen sprang to a defence of their rights, which included that of timber in the forest. Their petition stated their grievances, and recited their payment to the King's father of £2,700; while Mr. Thomas Braithwaite with Mr. George Browne and Mr. Wilson travelled to London to state their case before the Surveyor General, and secured a verdict (1665) in their favour.

Of the ancient customs of Ambleside, and the past which was rooted in a communal holding of land by a close body of villagers, we gain some glimpses from the Orders of the Court Baron of the Manor of Windermere. To this Court the men of Ambleside were bound to hie twice in the year, along with those of Troutbeck, Applethwaite and Undermillbeck, to pay their dues, to present offenders against the common law, and (by a selected sworn jury) to judge and decide all matters of dispute in connection with the land and forest rights, or the more personal ones that endangered the peace of the hamlet. The hamlet's customs and bye-laws they knew, as their fathers had known them aforetime, for it was their constant duty to testify to the same. But the lord's steward, whose duty it was to preside at the Court (though he had no power either to present offenders or to judge them) was often in ignorance, and for his convenience the laws of the Manor were written down. The copy preserved at Troutbeck is of a code written out in the 17th century, but it carefully embodies those of earlier times. The earliest dated entries run:—

Itm. It was ordered the xij Day of March in the Seventeenth yeare of King Edward the fourth. What Man or Woman dwelling within the Forest that felleth any wood for Fewell in the Wood Assigned to his Neighbour for Cropping but Ellers and Birks forfeits 3s. 4d.

Itm. Whosoe felleth any Wands or Spelks in the Dale of his neighboure without leave, or any green wood forfeits 6s. 8d.

The common right in wood and timber possessed by

every member of the village community was productive later of endless disputes and lawsuits. It was in early days controlled by two men called Bier-law men, and by the House-lookers and Hedge-lookers, all of which offices were probably (like that of the Frithmen of Rydal, who controlled the common pasturage in summer) held in rotation by the statesmen themselves.

Itm. It is ordered by the Assent of the Tenants of Troutbecke and George Birkett Bayliffe that whosoever makes not their part of the Close of Hayfitt Ing yearly Sufficiently by the first of Aprill at the Sight of the Bayliffe forfeits 4d.

Itm. The same paine for the Old Feild in Ambleside.

This recalls the time when the hay ground was enclosed from the open common land in spring by a temporary and doubtless wattle fence, or *floak*, easily removed in autumn. The site of the Old Field is unknown.

Itm. What Tenant as Fines another tenant of the Lords but in his own Court Baron or Byer law forfeits to the Lord 6s. 8d.

Itm. That none make any Coal Pitts in the Forrest under the Paine of 6s. 8d.

Whoso maketh any Hubleshow within this Lordship forfeits 6s. 8d.

This expression seems to have been generally used in the district for disturbance, as in Mr. Bellingham's Court, at Levens, in 1564, a man was fined 2s. 0d. for making "two hubbleshowes upon" another.

Itm. If any Tenent of Ambleside or Troutbecke sett more Grass of Chattell then p'taines to his Tenement forfeits 6s. 8d.

After some other and more indefinite orders come—

Orders for Troutbecke and Ambleside consented and agreed unto by Mr. Christopher Philipson, Depty Steward, and the Tenents of the said Lordshipp the 30th Day of Novemb^{er}, 1630.

Itm. Whosoe breakes any Garth or Hedge or takes any Peates in other Men's Mosse forfeits for every Default 6s. 8d.

Itm. Whosoever doth cutt down or breake any other Men's Ash Leaves forfeits 1s.

This interesting bye-law shows that in ancient days here, as still in Auvergne, the leaves of the ash-tree were carefully harvested as winter food for cattle.

Itm. It is ordered by the Consent as abovesaid that noe Tenant in Troutbecke or Ambleside Shall have any Timber Delivered to his building but upon his own Tenement, without the Consent of the Owners of the Ground, and the same to be Assigned by the House-lookers, and Delivered by the Bayliffe according to the Custome, upon paine of every Default 6s. 8d.

This was to check abuse of the ancient common law, that every tenant had a right to sufficient timber to keep his farmstead in order (house-bote, plough-bote, cart-bote, and hedge-bote as it was called), and that if it could not be found on ground assigned to himself, he could take it from elsewhere.

Itm. It is ordered thatt noe Tenant in Ambleside shall suffer their Kine or Chattell to bee or remaine amongst their Houses or Doors beneath their Fineable yeats from Mid May till Michaelmas by the space of one day at one time upon paine of 6s. 8d.

Where the homesteads were crowded together, as they seemed to be in the centre of Ambleside, such an order was important.

Itm. That none shall sheare any Grass in other men's ground 6s. 8d.

Itm. That none shall Rive any Hedge or Fence at any time Sub poena 6s. 8d.

That none Angle nor Fish by the Waterside in the meadow betwixt the first of June and the first of August without Licence of the owners of the Ground forfeits 6s. 8d.

It. That the High fell Yeats that are painable, Vizt. Scandall Yeat, the Steal Yeat and the Wall Yeat are to be made by the Tenants above Stock, And Kirkstone Yeat and Water garth Yeat by the Tenants of beneath Stocke, and whosoever shall not make and Hing them before the 24th Day of Aprill perticularely Every year forfeits 6s. 8d.

This shows that the barriers that kept the cattle on the fellside in summer were the care of all. The *Wall* gate is

significant, as suggestive of a stone wall as unusual. The line of these ancient barriers cannot now be determined, only their general direction.

Itm. That noe Tenant put any Goods upon the Com'on above their Stint upon pain of 6s. 8d.

Itm. That noe Tenant keep any Swine unringed after they have notise given him by any of his Neighbours upon paine of 6s. 8d.

The neighbourhood of the Forest gave importance to the swine, and in the charge to the jury we find—

Whosoe dwelleth out of the Forrest and putteth any Swine into the Forest, butt only when itt is Mast and these to be Scored, forfeits 3s. 4d.

An interesting point is presented in another charge to the jury.

Itm. Of them that Drives their Chattell at wrong Rakes or att their neighbours Rakes without leave against paine.

The old use of the word *rake* lingers in The Lady's Rake, Keswick; Rake Lane, Troutbeck, and Scots Rake, which Mr. Browne says is still applied to part of the old Roman road over High Street. In 1717 the Jury of the Court fined a Troutbeck man 3s. 4d. for driving his cattle from his ancient *out Rake* through the Middle Hundred and the Lowest to Skelgill Close "to the great disturbance" of several of his neighbours. The driving of cattle to the distant common, over unenclosed ground, or over ground allotted to another dalesman, must have been a serious matter; and each no doubt had his established or customary route or rake. Probably these came, in later times, to be walled in, and the wall-foundations of narrow ways, which Mr. Herbert Bell has found on the lower slopes of Wansfell, may possibly represent some of the old rakes.

The difficulties arising in later times from the driving of cattle, and the breakdown of the village jury, is exemplified by a paper, undated, of Sir Daniel Fleming's time, which sets forth the grievances of widow Fisher, regarding the

"drift way" for his cattle demanded across her land by John Mackereth :—

Upon the Contrav^er^ sye depending betweene John Mackereth on the one p'tys, and Widdow Fisher on the other; for Motions to peace of Reasonable tearmes Shee would accept If Mackereth speake to her which as yet is not done for Shee is not willing as she conceives to be wronged, to follow them for an Agreem^t^, but if they come to her: motions may be considered Shee is not pleased to accept of an Ambleside Jury for severall reasonable causes of Exception Shee conceives that a Customary Jury cannot be obtained without great charge, and when obtained, shee is a little dubious whether they will prove such as be competent Judges in the case; Shee upon these considerations cannot imagine how to refer the matter without a Jury of Freeholds.

This Matter is not very triviall because the way claimed is the lenth of sixty three pearches all along her ploweing and moweing ground; and a drift way for Chattell therein at all times.

Besides the makeing of two or three Gates to open, and to fall in of themselves, otherwise they will not shut any, which being left open; it lyes her ground to the com'on way to the yearely value of eight pound, to be eaten up by any p'sons Goods that comes.

The Con^ble^ would not serve the warr^t^ till shee gave him one Shilling for executing Still alledging and sayeing that Sr Daniel could not com'and him as Con^ble^ to execute any Warr^t^ without pay. But as Con^ble^ he could com'and Sr Daniell, for if he were carrying a man to the Stockes he had power to com'and a justice to sett him in.

Widow Fisher proffered that if Mackereth would reimburse to her the charges they have already put her too; and soe start eqnally; shee is then willing to referre it to two, foure, sixe or more men mutually chosen by consent of both p'ties, but she is not willing any Bayliffs should appoint them.

The matter was not indeed trivial, since it came to violence. A Writ exists, signed by Sir Daniel, calling upon James Mackereth, mercer, Matthew Mackereth, Edward Harrison and John Tenter, husbandmen, to appear before a magistrate, as well as at the next Quarter Sessions at Kendal, and to keep till then of Good Behaviour, especially towards William Fisher, yeoman, Thomas Newton, jun., husbandman, and Elizabeth Fisher, spinster; these last having declared upon their oath before the

Magistrate that the former, on Wednesday last, entered "forceably & Riotously wth divers Horses into a Close called Taylors-Skelding," in the possession of the mother of William and Elizabeth, "making a way through ye same threatning to bind ye said William Fisher and Thomas Newton, and assaulting & casting down ye said Elizabeth Fisher in such sort as she was thereby much bruised and her arms made Bloody."

This valiant defence of her mother's rights by maid Elizabeth, backed only by two men, against four men with horses, shows the spirit and strength of the women of old. When Reginald Holme, of Loughrigg, defied the law, in 1684, and two officers were despatched to enter his premises and seize his goods, they were met not only by his three sons, but by his daughter Dorothy, who all together "did riotously fall upon them, beat, and abuse them."

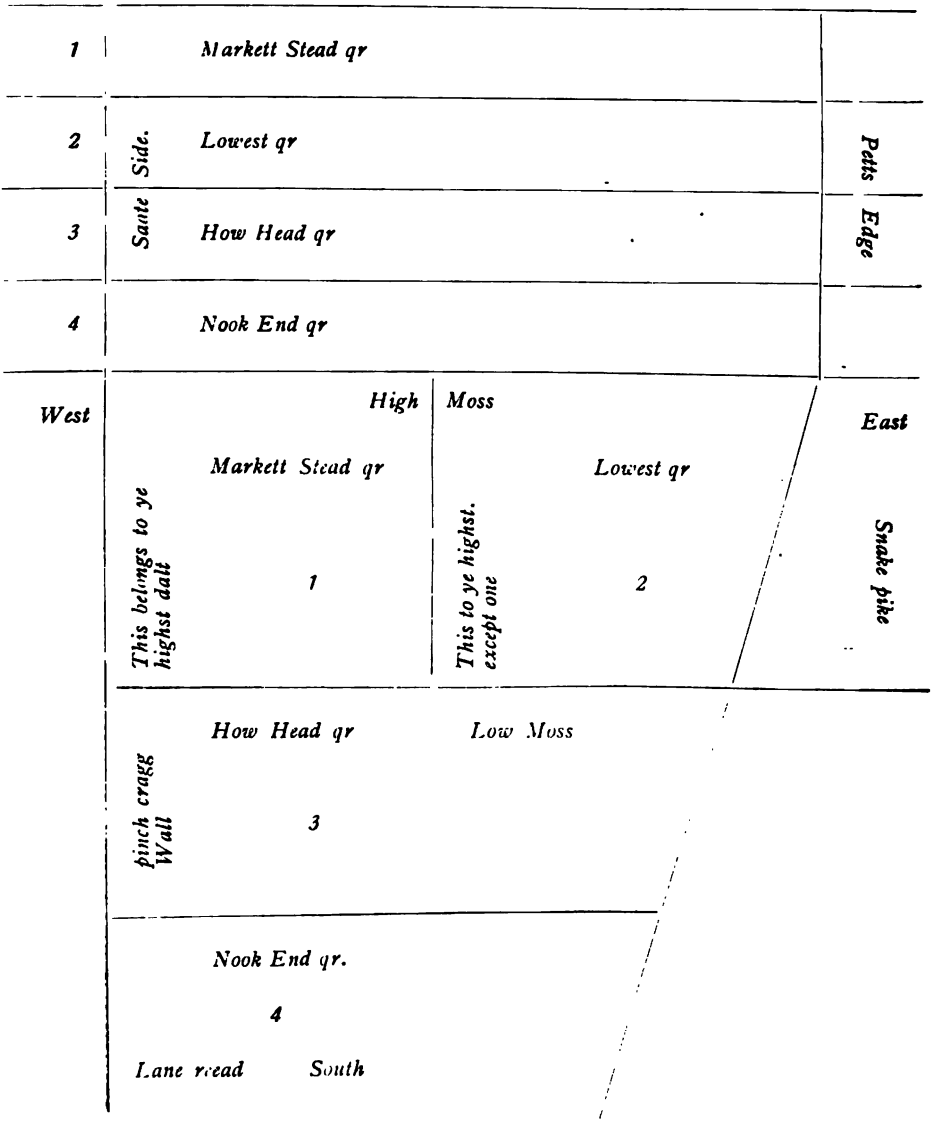
An old man of Grasmere, recently dead, when speaking of the past, commented upon the size of the people he remembered in his childhood, and specially mentioned a woman of Ambleside, a blacksmith's wife, wonderful in stature and strength.

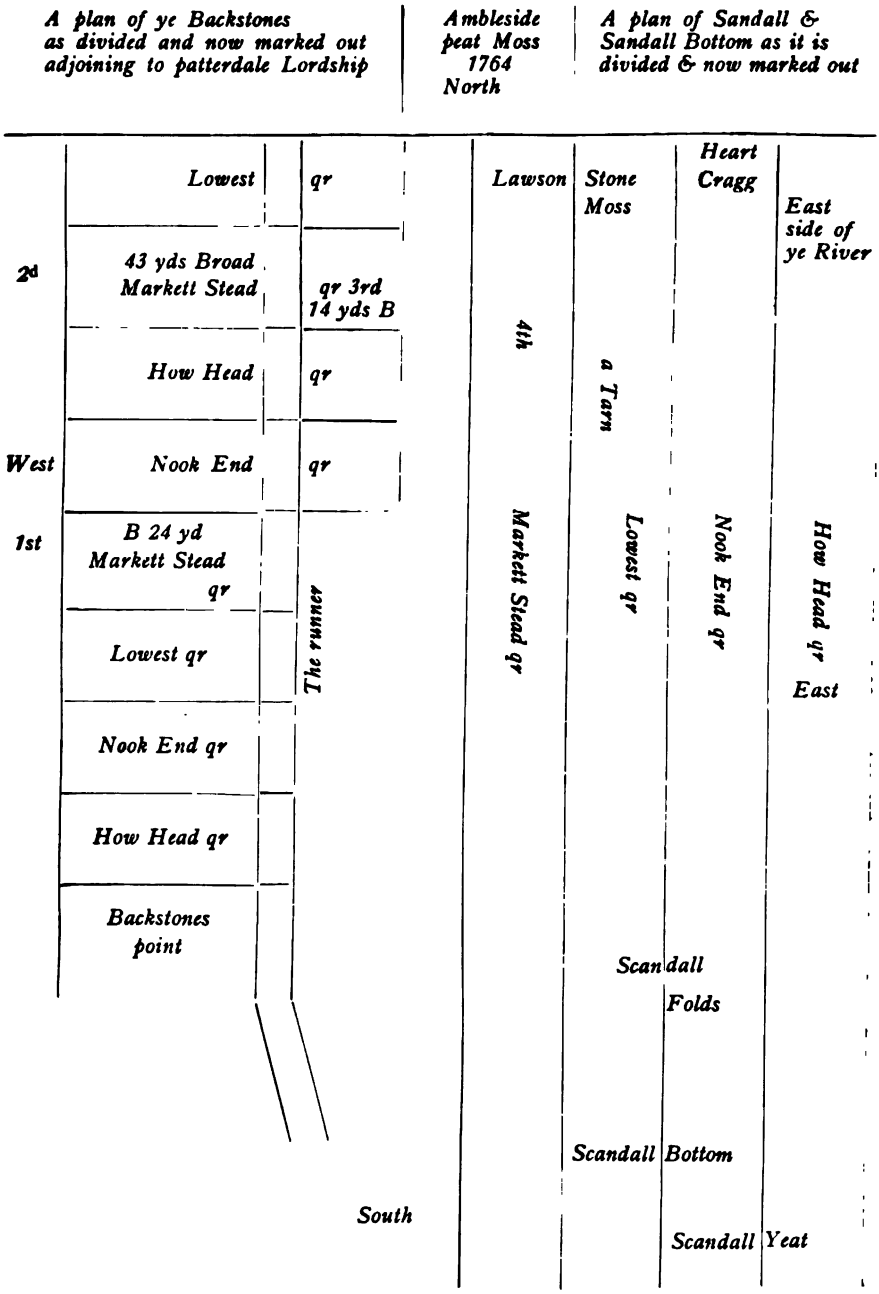
A difficulty about the ancient Common of Stock Moss was settled in August, 1699, by a conclave of thirteen men of the place (practically a jury, though they seem to have sat without a Court) who declared, on the testimony of six others—no doubt old and trusted men—that the holders of the Common had by ancient custom crossed it either in the portion of moss assigned to themselves or another, in any way most convenient for leading peats, according to season and weather; and moreover that, as it had been anciently village common for pasture, beasts and horses had still a right to move freely over it.

Beside this paper we find two others that concern the old common lands, which lingered longest in the peat-mosses that supplied the households with fuel. These are rough plans, drawn out as late as 1764, and given on the next two pages, as nearly in facsimile as type will allow.

Ambleside 1764 *North.*

The Plan of Snake How Moss as devided & now marked out.




A plan of ye Backstones as divided and now marked out adjoining to patterdale Lordship
Ambleside peat Moss 1764
North
A plan of Sandall & Sandall Bottom as it is divided & now marked out
Lowest
qr
2d
43 yds Broad Markett Stead
qr 3rd 14 yds B
How Head
qr
West
Nook End
qr
1st
B 24 yd Markett Stead qr
Lowest qr
Nook End qr
How Head qr
Backstones point
The runner
South
Lawson
4th
Markett Stead qr
Stone Moss
a Tarn
Lowest qr
Heart Cragg
Nook End qr
East side of ye River
How Head qr
East
Scandall Folds
Scandall Bottom
Scandall Yeat

II.—Ambleside Industries.

The immemorial village customs lingered on, the ancient land-tenure held its own, though with weaker grip, till the 18th century. But far back in the past can be traced the first trickle of the ever-growing stream of home manufacture and trade that was to lift the pastoral hamlet to a thriving village and then to a town, with the weekly market so long coveted by its neighbour, Grasmere, with two Fairs in the year, and their attendant Court of Pie-Powder.

Perhaps some peculiarity of custom favoured the growth of Ambleside more than the hamlets around, or some cunning in her men.

No fulling-mill—no corn-mill even, previous to 1324—is mentioned in the earlier Inquisitions and Rentals. Possibly the community was too small, like the adjacent one of Loughrigg, for it to be worth while for the Lord at first to establish the usual corn mill, which was let out to one tenant, and at which all the rest were bound to grind their corn. The usual fulling or walk mill, where the villagers carried their home-spun cloths to be dressed for their home-made garments, which was provided for Grasmere as early as 1324, may also have been an erection of the lord's, let out as a monopoly; though this is not certainly known.

What is certain, however, is that the hamlets of Loughrigg and Ambleside, for which alone no fulling mills are accounted at first to the lord, paid to him a peculiar tax calling Walking-silver. In the Levens rental it is stated:

> The same tenants (of Ambleside) hold by the custom of Walkyn-Sylver and pay per annum 6s. 8d.

Possibly this tax carried with it the right, since no walk mill was provided by the lord, to full their cloth where and how they would, either at a neighbouring mill beyond

their boundaries, or else to institute private or home-mills* without a monopoly.

It is in a document of 1453 (Min. Acc^{t}, Bdle. 644, No. 10,444), when Henry VI. grants this lordship to his half-brother Edmund, Earl of Richmond, who had married Margaret, the little heiress of the Duke of Somerset, that we first hear of a fulling mill at Ambleside. The widow of the Duke of Bedford still held a third of the property as her dower.

Amelsette. Jhan Newton reeve there
Of 24. 7. 8½ of two parts of rents and farms of all tenants there at 16. 5. 1½ p. an. at terms aforesaid, whereof farm of water corn mill 13s. 4d, farm of Walkyngsilver 6s. 8d, farm of the fulling mill there constructed anew 13½d, of farm of the herbage of Trowtbeke brigge 6s. 8d, to wit of 3 terms, and 40s. farm of two parts of a tenement called Maist^{r} forster place at 26s. 8d. as above.
Sum 26. 7. 8½

Gressum'e. Of 7li. of two parts of admissions of tenants there at 4. 13. 4. p. a. payable with farms abovesaid at said terms.
Sum t. 33. 7. 8½

In 1473 the death of the Duchess of Bedford released her claim (which Edward IV. seems to have allowed to stand) upon the lordship. He now hastened to confer (*Inq. p.m.*, 12 Edw. IV., No. 47) "⅓ of the lordship or township of Hamylsed" upon Sir William Parr, to whom he had already alienated the rest, and his heirs. The Inquisition states "Hamelsed and Troutebek" to have been worth £16 yearly to the Duchess.

It is twenty-one years later that we have our next glimpse of the place, given by a most valuable Rental

* The Lord of Rydal possessed a mill on Scandale-beck (which formed the boundary of Ambleside) as late as the early 17th century, which may have been the fulling mill for his villagers. Their corn mill was on Rydal-beck. Such a mill would be conveniently accessible for both Ambleside and Loughrigg folk. Since writing the above, an enquiry sent to *Notes and Queries* on the subject of "Walking-silver" has been ably and fully answered by Mr. W. Farrer (see 10th series, 170). His first suggestion differs little from the one offered here, except in detail.

preserved at Sizergh Castle, of the date 1494.* The pendulum of Kingship had swung again, and for the last time, in the Wars of the Roses. Henry VII. had snatched the Crown from the Yorkists, and had naturally robbed the Parrs of the Richmond Fee, which had been his mother's by right. But the Parrs, seated by inheritance at Kendal Castle, and doubtless greatly concerned in the manufacture and export of woollen cloth, which had already begun to enrich their little town in Westmorland, had exercised apparently a strong progressive influence over the alienated lordship (stretching round about their *caput*, and therefore bound up by interest with it) even in the short time they held it. The Sizergh MS., which is too long to print *in extenso*, expressly connects new fulling mills both at Grasmere and Ambleside with the name of Sir William Parr. Concerning "Amelset," besides the dues of the water mill and of "Walkyngsilver" (which are stated to be included in the general rents), we are told of a "tenement called Maister fosters place with 30 cattle [*places*]," now occupied by three holders. Also

of the farm of the fulling mill in the tenure of Thomas Brathwayte 14½d; of the farm of another fulling mill, in the tenure of Robert Jackson 14½d.

There is even a third fulling mill, described at the close as

newly constructed in the time of William Parre knight late occupier of this lordship, as demised to Thomas Robynson Jacson by the year.

Ambleside had, it is clear, started well on her career of commercial prosperity. The market, indeed, which was to crowd her streets every Wednesday with wool-growers from the fell-sides and with clothiers and chapmen from Kendal, was yet 200 years ahead; but with three fulling

* Thanks are due to Sir Gerald Strickland for allowing a search for the MS. to be made and a copy to be taken.

mills at work in the fifteenth century she must already have begun to supply the neighbouring woollen centre with some of that cloth which was exported to the south, and was well known to the citizens of Tudor London as Kendal Green.

How busy must have been the little Stock Beck—now valued chiefly for the romantic beauty of its glen and waterfall—in turning those mediæval wheels of commerce, and all in its short course below the fall, through the tiny town! It is difficult to understand where the mills could have stood. There were five of them at the least—three fulling mills and two corn mills—even supposing the later bark mill to have taken the place of one of the fulling mills, and the paper mill to have been turned by Scandale Beck.

The mystery of the two corn mills must be first considered. The customs of the place with regard to the tenants grinding their household corn (mostly havers or oats) would seem to have been singular. It might be supposed, from the statement (contained in the Inquisitions of 1324 and 1335) of the corn mill being worth 5s. yearly to the lord, that the mill was the usual lord's monopoly, let out. But in the Levens MS. this statement drops out, and we are expressly told "all the tenants of the same [hamlet] hold the water corn mill, 20s. 0d." And later the Sizergh MS. says that the dues of corn mill and walking-silver were included in the tenants' rent, and therefore were collected from all. Had the tenants compounded with the lord to break the monopoly? He was largely the gainer by the change, it is clear; and so perhaps were they.

Of the two corn mills the old one was perhaps derelict in 1639, when its holders, Elizabeth Jackson, widow, and her son William, make over all their rights in it by deed to Mr. Gawen Brathwaite, holder of the new mill, provided he will pay the 4½d. mill rent due to the lord for

OLD MILL, NOW DESTROYED, ABOVE STOCK BRIDGE, AMBLESIDE:
BY W. COLLINGWOOD, R.W.S., 1841.

TO FACE P. 20.

THE CORN MILL (BRATHWAITE'S) AND BARK MILL, AMBLESIDE:
BY W. COLLINGWOOD, R.W.S., 1841.

TO FACE P. 21.

the same, and grind the corn of the Jacksons for ever in his mill.

This interesting deed (see Appendix I.), found lately by Mr. George Browne, expressly declares the old mill to have stood on *Sleddall-becke*, while Mr. Gawen Brathwaite's mill stood at the Stockbridge. The name *Sleddall* has entirely vanished from memory, and like *Ellis Beck* cannot be certainly placed.

It is probable that in ancient times the small rivulets or runners that feed the becks were fuller and of more persistent flow than now. The deep, wide mosses, lying in the basins of the fells that formed their source, were not drained as now; the abundant forests, too, that clothed the slopes gave them additional supplies. We know, indeed, that rills that barely trickle now in drought, like that of Fox Gill in Loughrigg, once turned a mill; and some are wholly lost, except in short-lived spates.

Six streams belong to Ambleside—Scandale Beck, Las-gill, Stock-gill or beck, Fisher-beck, Steucher-beck, and Helbeck—all flowing west to join the Rothay or the great lake. The first and last form the township's boundaries. Las-gill, running as it now does largely underground, by *cundreths*, is known only to the old. Yet where the high road crossed it, by the present Technical Schools, it was called within living memory a ford, though unfortunately the name of the ford cannot be recovered. It was also a favourite fishing ground some sixty years ago. Formerly, it is stated, salmon-trout ran freely up its quiet waters, fringed by meadows, whence Mr. Hills believes its name to be derived (Lachs=salmon, or salmon-trout).

Now besides these (unless Cross Sykes betokens a hidden runner) there is but one other named stream, and that is Blake Sykes, a tributary of the Stock, that falls into it above the ford. Where then was Sleddall-beck?

A tradition exists in the Mackereth family that the old corn mill was planted high on Stock Beck, above the present bobbin mill. An old building is remem-

bered, also, to have stood where the mill dam is. This, with the names Mill Doors and Long Coats (suggestive of sheds or wooden shelters), given by the Ordnance map for the wooded bank below the falls, seems to substantiate the tradition. If so, the stream changed its name above the town. Now it is singular, but certain, that it did so just below the town; for where it curves upon the meadow-flat, close to Stony Lane (the spot where Green took his view "from the Butts"), it is declared from several sources to have been called Butts Beck—probably from the practice of archery in ancient times in the meadow beyond. ("A stone bowe and a greate old crosbowe," valued at 3s. 9d., were among Mr. Gawen Brathwaite's effects in 1653.) It is likewise said, though without supporting evidence, that the name *Ellis Beck* was applied to that section of the stream which lies between the bobbin mill and Stock Bridge. Could this be confirmed, we should have to accept the curious fact that the name Sleddall, Ellis, Stock, and Butts were all applied to the same beck in a course of three-quarters of a mile. A fifth name supplied, Hellicer Beck, may be dismissed as a confusion with the undoubted Hallicar Ford, mentioned by Nicholson *(Annals of Kendal)*, who was a native of the place. The change of names of the united Rothay and Brathay to Birdhouse Mouth is nothing to this, if it be true.*

If we look for the sites of the mediæval fulling mills, we may possibly find them in some cases transformed to other uses. The bobbin mill may represent one. Another may have been the later bark mill, which stood on the other side of the beck in Rattle Gill (yet another bank-side name!) and was turned by the same current as supplied the corn mill, so picturesquely shown both in Green's

* Mr. Hills draws attention to the conjunction of Sleddall and Stock in a neighbouring valley. This bears the general name of Long Sleddale, while its main stream is called the Sprint, and a side valley is Stockdale.

etching and in the plate opposite, crossing the beck by a wooden conduit.

The third may likewise have stood on the left bank, where the present saw-mill stands, near the old Bridge-house of the Brathwaites. The great change made hereabouts by the cutting of the modern highway, with its bridge across Stock Beck, can hardly be realized. The only route through Ambleside, after the first fording days, led by the now upper bridge and the narrow lane called North Road, and down again by Smithy Brow. The Smithy Brow descent must always have led, by the bridle path of Stony Lane, across the valley to the ford and steps at Miller Bridge; but it is doubtful if it carried much traffic else. The usual pack-horse route to Keswick kept along the slope by Nook and Nook End. It is even possible that the lower route to Rydal first descended to the level of the present road somewhere on the line of the Scale-how drive. Anyway Rattle Gill, now a mean, squalid quarter above the main road, was then a mill-precinct, lying below the main street of the town, and backed close up by beautiful broken ground of sudden knolls and trees, preserved fortunately in two of Green's etchings. This ground, too rough and rocky for agriculture, seems to have been used in early days for stretching and drying the cloth that was dressed in the adjacent mills, for it was known as Old Mill Lands. The closest of its knolls to the town must have been blasted for the short-cut of the high-road between the Salutation and Low Nook, which was made about 1833 *(Directory of Westmorland*, 1849), while the opening out of Cumpstone Road, with the approach to the new church and schools, prepared the way for the existing line of shops and houses. But the razing and levelling of the farther knolls so finely clothed with oak, we have witnessed in these last years, for the creation of the suburb called Millans Park.

The cloth trade continued till the last century. *The Cumberland and Westmorland Directory*, 1829, speaks of a

mill for the making of linseys and coarse goods having been established near to the corn-mill and tannery in 1797 by a Mr. Cooper; and his brother, who travelled for him, is remembered by the late Mrs. Bell to have lived in the house shown in Green's etching as standing on the site of the Queen's Hotel.

The importance of the cloth trade to the district in old days is told in the protest of the men who petitioned King James in May, 1621, for a confirmation of their rights, which he still delayed, though they had already given him £1,700, and were to pay £1,000 more at Martinmas. They have 200 miles to travel, they complain, and have paid besides fees to both Houses of Parliament and other great charges which many of them are unable to support. "having but smale Estat[es] and if trading in Cloth were not, the greater part of them could not maintayne themselues and families, their tenements being verie barren."

Long after the decline of the fulling mills, the bobbin mill industry sprang up, beautifying the country by the spread of the oak and hazel coppices (russet in winter) over the lower fells. That declined too; but the Ambleside bobbin mill, that has long been in the family of Horrocks, has kept up, and is now busy with an order from Bombay. Thus the Stock Beck, while delighting hundreds of summer trippers by its beauty, still turns the wheel of commerce.

III.—The Brathwaites of Ambleside Hall.

If evidence were wanted of the growth of the town in the 16th century, it could probably be furnished by that collection of coins made by the family of Brathwaites, who owned the Borrans,—as the site of the Roman Camp at Waterhead is called. Thomas is said, by Nicolson and Burn, to have begun it; and when his brother Gawen died in 1653 he bequeathed to his son Thomas, to be preserved as family heirlooms, "mine

ancient coynes of gold, silver, and brasse." Thomas, in his turn, dying childless, bequeathed to the University of Oxford, through the Provost of Queen's College, his "ancient medals and Roman Antiquities." The coins, which were seen by the antiquary Machel, are described as being 6 of gold, 66 of silver, and 250 of baser metal. A letter written from Queen's College to Sir Daniel Fleming three years after the legacy, shows that they had not then been delivered, as a request is made that the executors of the will shall be reminded of their duty. Indeed it is probable that they never were delivered, for no trace of them in Oxford can be found, as Mr. C. L. Stainer has obligingly sent word. Probably they were sold; and Clarke's statement (1789) that they were then in possession of the Countess of Lichfield, may be correct. Could they be traced, they would form an interesting illustration of the history of Ambleside.

Now, when Camden described the Borrans, at the end of the 16th century, it showed as the "carcase of an ancient city," and about it were to be distinguished paved approaches, ramparts, and ditches; the whole being covered with such a débris of bricks, mortar, glass, and pottery as showed clearly its origin. Probably it was but a short time after his visit that the Brathwaites began to clear the place, using it as a quarry and "trailing" off the stones to add to the thriving little town on the hill. It is true that no Roman fragments have hitherto been observed in the Ambleside houses, but all that was remarkable, in sculpture or inscription, would be saved for the collection; while the local method of building, by coating the masonry with rough-cast, tends to conceal the material.*

* Some thirty years ago a flat meadow between the present Broadlands drive and Milligan's Nursery was broken up and trenched for the planting of strawberries and potatoes. The soil for a depth of 12 to 18 inches below the sod was found to be thickly strewn with Roman remains. Thousands of potsherds were turned up, some of coarse red pottery, others of a yellowish ware, adorned with handles and having raised figures of animals (elephants, &c.) upon them. There

That the Brathwaites did actually build houses we have also indirect evidence. Sir William Fleming, in his correspondence (1726) with the then owner of the Ambleside Hall property, who was selling it in lots, speaks of its value being considerably lessened by the sale of the peat moss at Brathay which had supplied the houses with fuel. He further says:—"It is pretended that onely 4 tenements below Stock in Ambleside are sold off, but some say more." Now, the fact that some of the houses owned by the Brathwaites got peat from so far off as Brathay (where the family had acquired property) supports the idea that they were of their erection, and were no part of the true village community, every tenement of which had an ancient right to peat from the three common mosses of Snake How, Scandale Bottom, and the Backstones. If this were so, the Brathwaites introduced a new system of tenure into Ambleside (new, at least, on a considerable scale—for hinds and smaller artizans had long rented the cots that stood adjacent to the larger homesteads), and became landlords in the modern sense. That is to say, they built to let, and the occupiers of their houses were probably their workmen and artizans—a class produced by trade—who had no hold whatever on the land.†

Yet the Brathwaites themselves, though they were the leading family of Ambleside for possibly 200 years, had no exceptional position there. They were not freeholders. They held their land as the other statesmen of the place

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were also red glazed floor tiles, said to have been some 9 inches square and 2 inches thick, ornamented with a diagonal pattern. The remains of fires were found, on which pieces of charred wood (oak) and bones were still left. These things were described to me by an intelligent eye-witness, who kept pieces of the pottery for years, until, he says, they crumbled away. As this site lies N.N.E. of the camp, and the two Roman jugs recently discovered (see Mr. H. S. Cowper's paper, N.S. v.) were turned out respectively near half-a-mile E. and N., it seems as if an extensive colony stretched outside the military station towards the steamer pier and Low Fold.

† Their number (few, no doubt) cannot be determined by the entry made by Mr. Robert Brathwaite in the executive account-book, December, 1674—"payed to sister Sandys that she payed to the Millwrits 4^{lb} o^{s} . od."

held it, and paid suit and service, rent and gressum to the lord of the manor. The rental of their whole property amounted in 1675 to £3 16s. 8d., besides £1 on the Nook End estate, lately acquired from the Forrests, and an additional 17s. 8d., which perhaps represented stray dues such as the "Kirkston fell Grasses" and the Green-hew of the 1706 Account Book; though it was called, by Sir William, "free Braken Rents."

Originally, no doubt, the men of Ambleside were free, if joint holders of the soil they tilled. But gradually obligations to the lord of the manor sprang up, and they were called by the usual Norman phrase, "tenants at his will," though incorrectly, for he had no power to turn them out. The few "free tenants" that lingered on in some of these parts were apt to disappear (as was the case in Grasmere) when death without heirs or alienation gave the lord opportunity; and he exacted, instead of the small "free" rent, a larger one, with the highly valuable gressum and heriot, which were features of the customary tenancy. That old "Maister Forster" was perhaps a freeholder, whose place was so long known by his name, and whose holding was broken up into two or three during the 15th century. But from the time that we have any particulars of the village, its land holders were all of one status. Though they possessed their lands, governed their community, built and endowed their church (besides supporting the mother church), and organised the school for their children, they were yet debarred from voting for the knight of the shire or Member of Parliament who represented them.

The Brathwaites may have been descended from the Thomas who held the fulling mill in 1494. Almost certainly they acquired their wealth by trade, united with successful agriculture. Already, in the reign of Elizabeth, they were rich enough to extend their possessions beyond the town. A deed at Rydal Hall shows that James Brathwaite, towards the end of that reign, bought from

John Benson the freehold property or "Manor" of Bayesbrowne in Langdale, with a messuage and tenement called Elterwater and another called Dykehowe. Land was also acquired, probably after this time, at Brathay and at Pull Beck, across which Gawen later built apparently the first stone bridge.

With this James and his brother Thomas, sons of a certain Robert, the illustrious era of the family may be said to have begun. James married a cloth merchant's daughter, Joyce Benson, of Miller Bridge. Her father, Bernard, was one of three Benson partners, described as clothiers, who purchased, along with the freehold of their homesteads, almost half Loughrigg from William Fleming, Esq., of Coniston and Rydal (Deed at Rydal Hall.) Thomas's marriage was more ambitious. With Dorothy Bindlosse—sister of the Agnes who was the second wife of William Fleming, and who as widow became the redoubtable squiress of Rydal—he appears to have obtained property in Staveley.* He became seated at Burneside Hall, which (according to Nicolson and Burn) was bought for him by his father, and there his clever son Richard ("Dapper Dick") was born. He became a knight, and in 1591 applied for license to bear arms. His nephew Thomas, successor to James of Ambleside, did the same in 1602-3. For the odd circumstance that the two coats of arms, though purporting in each case to be those borne by the family, were different, see these *Transactions*, vol. vi., p. 106. Thomas of Ambleside (whose sister Isabel married Daniel Fleming, second son of William and Agnes of Rydal, and owner of Skirwith) was followed by his brother Gawen, who played a prominent part, not only in town's matters, but in those of the whole Richmond Fee.

The will of Gawen, with the inventory of his possessions

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* For this information I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Martindale.

made at his death in 1653,* gives an interesting picture of the prosperity of the family at this time. His barns at Ambleside—the New, the Low, at the Gale, at the Borrans, at Barka-sike—loaded with hay, with wool, with malt, with grain—his hog-houses and byres at Ambleside, at Baisbrowne, at Braythay, at Pull-becke, at the High-house, with the sheep, the horses, the kine and the oxen that filled them; his households effects, his clothing, and every kitchen utensil are all enumerated. Though it was the end of winter, when stock was at the lowest, he had 357 sheep eating away at hay in the great hog-house at the Rigge besides over 200 at Baisbrowne and Pull. His unsold wool amounted to 80 stone. He had 114 bushels of bigg or barley malt, besides some haver or oat malt; and, in various garners, 80 bushels of barley, 80 of oats, and even some wheat, besides oatmeal. This large store points to a considerable brewery industry—a conjecture which is confirmed by a subsequent description of the property. The quantity of tanned leather, too, suggests that there was a tanyard on the premises. The list shows that Ambleside Hall was a house of some thirteen rooms, besides outhouses, brewhouses, larders, and the like; and that it was furnished with great comfort if not luxury for those times, as its leathern chairs, its "carpett cloths," its fire-irons, its wrought happings, and its quishions wrought with silk and gold attest. There was plate in it to the value of £40; while the "latt maistere's apparell in generall" was valued at £26 13s. 4d. Outwardly, too, the place must have shown state. There is an item in the estates' accounts in 1705 paid to George Birkett, carpenter, "A Day worke at ye Canopy over ye hall-Door 6^{d}."

But its position was not important, for it belonged, there is no doubt, to the little huddle of houses on the hill that made the town. Originally it was but a larger

* See Appendix II.

village holding, with its mill adjacent, and would be dubbed Hall when it and the family rose in importance. (The house of Kelsick in Church Street, now occupied by Mrs. Gibson, grocer, was locally known as Kelsick Hall.) It stood in a triangular plot, the apex of which is yet formed by the two rising town streets, North Road and Smithy Brow, with the loop of the Stock flowing at its base. Probably the house faced on Smithy Brow, just below the Golden Rule Inn, where a cottage stands that is reputed to contain one of its staircases, and where an abutting barn has been converted to a house; and the "fronts before Kitchen and Hall doors" that we hear of at the sale, perhaps opened upon this lane. But on the other side, the house would face into the great Court-yard —whose memory seems preserved by an old yew tree left there still—dotted round with the hall itself, and its byres and its storehouses, with "miln and kiln" and separate millhouse on the beck. The gate-house, with room above, which closed this large and wealthy precinct, probably stood among the houses of North Road, upon which it opened, and where still is an entrance to a timberyard, giving access to the centre of the triangle. Under the gate-house would pass out the homestead's train of five packhorses; also the full four teams of oxen (the eight great beasts were away at Baisbrowne when the ploughing was over) to be hitched to the plough in the field; the more unusual horse-team too; the foot-team (for what light implement could this be used?), and the two dog-teams that were used, perhaps, for small sleds. And in would roll the coups* laden with hay and grain, the sleds burdened with bracken for bedding and peats for the fires. Through it, too, would pass a constant stream of villagers, bringing their oats to be ground, and their bigg, perhaps, to be dried for their home-brewed ale. It

* Cowp-cart, tip-cart, from *cowp*, to upset (see Prevost's *Dickinson*). Coup also means a wooden enclosure, as in fish and hen-coop. Hence possibly a coup or box-cart as opposed to the older sled.

was no wonder that, hemmed in by streets as the homestead was, Gawen had a care for their cleanliness and left the interest of £5 to be used "for opening and cleansing of the watercourses of the highway, especially in Ambleside town street." This shows that in old days here, as now in French towns, a flow of fresh water was kept through the open gutters; and it would be quite easy, from the spot where Blake-sike touches the street by the chapel, to lead off ducts down the hill. No doubt folk threw out their garbage into the gutters, as they still do into the rivers. The principal of Gawen's bequest seems to have been held by the family, for we find entered in February, 1675,

payed the use of 5li for the high wayes in Amblesid between Scandel bridge & holbeck bridge in all 0li 6s 0d

But if the place was pressed in above by the town, below it was open, except for the beautiful beck. And this was spanned by a cunning and picturesque bridge-house still standing, that led from the garden and orchard within the precinct to the "Shaw wife" orchard beyond; while perhaps a wooden bridge gave access to the knolls of the old mill lands. Pleasant orchards, too, stretched across the lane where Low Nook now stands.

Of Gawen's large family, Thomas, the eldest, succeeded him. He had interests outside Ambleside, was Recorder of Kendal, and possessed a second home. He died, in 1674, a richer man than his father, his assets standing at £1041 0s. 10d., against the latter's £662 13s. 2d. But his increase was all in money except for wool, which was valued at the high figure of £90. Besides his brother Robert's amusing entry in the executor's accounts of "There was Ith Secreet Counter upon opening of it 6lb 15s 0d," there was gold at Ambleside Hall amounting to £102, besides bonds. In stock he was less rich, and no doubt husbandry and the brewery and the corn mill were not so foremost a business with him as with his father.

That he sometimes resided at Ambleside Hall, and kept it up, is probable from the bequests left to his servants there. (For his will, see *The Boke of Record of Kirkby Kendal.*) He died childless, and his complicated will led to litigation. To his sister Dorothy, widow of Samuel Sandys, of Gray's Inn and Esthwaite, the Ambleside property was left, under certain conditions of trust. She died three years later, not at the Hall nor at Esthwaite, but at her daughter Mrs. Brooks' house in Ambleside. Two years later again the remaining executors, Robert Brathwaite and his niece Dorothy Brathwaite, sold the furniture of the Hall, as we know from the entry in Sir Daniel Fleming's account book for 1679, which shows that he spent £6 1s. 3d. there. The property was valued at this time at £426 19s. 6d.; the "Sayles at Ambleside" realized, according to Robert Brathwaite's accounts, £369 5s. 7d. altogether. The estate, which now belonged to Lady Otway, niece of Thomas and daughter of John Brathwaite, was let out in portions, and managed by Mr. Benjamin Browne of Troutbeck. The Hall was rented, with the farm lands apparently, by one Michael Tyson for £30. The Borrans and Newlands brought in £13 yearly, the Gale £6 10s., Wansfell Close sometimes £3 and sometimes £4, Waterhead £1 12s.,; besides Pull, which was rented by a Rowland and Agnes Brathwaite; the whole income for the year 1705 standing at £88 19s. 3d.

But the letting of the corn mill was clearly a difficulty. Mr. Browne writes, in 1704, after Ann Lowes (formerly a servant of the Brathwaites, as the bequest shows) had given it up—"To tell the truth Mad^{m}, it is of much less Value y^{n} it has been by reason of a Horse Miln now at Clappersgate." However, extensive repairs to Lowther and Out-wheel were executed, and in 1704 William Atkinson "of Cunningston" made agreement to take "all that the Water Corn Miln, Kiln and Malt House" for £7 10s., with the privilege of forty loads of wood to be furnished him annually from the estate. In 1713-14

Thomas Mackereth was paying £8 10s. for it. In 1715 Joseph Gradus* was holding it at £9, but two years later his goods were sold to make up his arrears of rent. In 1707 the agent reports that several houses in Ambleside were standing empty, and the income in 1711 had dropped to £71 13s. By 1718 it was clear that Lady Otway and her son were anxious to get rid of the whole property, and to conclude a bargain struck with a Mr. Dummer for the purchase of the Ambleside and Pull estate for £1750. (B.MSS.) It was not immediately concluded, however, for the sale of the lady's goods at the Ambleside mill house, which appears to have been furnished, and at Pull beck and Waterhead, where the barns were fitted up with bedsteads and tables (no doubt for the hinds) did not take place till 1720.

Mr. Thomas Dummer, described variously as of Sargent's Inn, Fleet Street, and the Inner Temple, London, was apparently a stranger, who bought the property as a speculation. At any rate, it was soon afterwards broken up by him into small lots, as deeds at Rydal Hall show. To John Kelsick he sold in 1722, for £19, the pasture called Bellstone-brow, with rights of common, turbary, &c.; and in the same year, to William Tyson, the elder, for £76, the pasture called Wansfell Close, below Stock, with one cattle gate in the forest of Ambleside, carrying a proportionate fell rent, the lord's rent of the pasture being 2s. 6d. In 1726 he sold to George Cumpstone the closes called Horse Coppice and Sweden End, with the orchard called Field Yate Orchard—where, no doubt, Cumpstone Lodge (later Low Nook) was afterwards built. He then attempted to sell by auction the remainder, which now carried, it is stated in the conditions, a lord's rent of £2 11s., a free rent of 4s. 4d., prescription money 12s. 6d., and a chapel salary of £1 3s. 5d.; the total of which,

* As Jos. Gardhouse, miller, had a child baptised in 1723, his difficulties must have been temporary.

£4 11s. 3d., is to be divided, along with the chapel pews and fell grasses, among the purchasers, if there should be several. He reserved, however, the two front pews in the chapel for himself, carrying 8s., "And alsoe he Excepts the Houses, Shaw Wife Orchard and the Waist ground about the Houses . . . . and who Ever Buys the Mill and Kill must pay 13^s 4^d Free Rent in Ambleside and 4^s 8^d to Loughrigg." Two fell-grasses are reserved for the houses and mill, also "3 woodmeers, one i'th' Roughsides, One in a Close called Plant Grass, belonging to Arthur Mackereth and One in Seathwaite to goe with the Houses and Mill." Should the whole be sold together he makes no exception but the front chapel seats; while if sold in lots the purchasers are to agree among themselves to pay Dr. Fleming (then rector of Grasmere) and his successors 20lbs. of wool and 14d. yearly, besides the prescription money above mentioned.

Now the final items in this confusing account probably stand for a computation of tithes made at some earlier time by the Brathwaites with the mother church, but the "Free Rent" is not quite easy to understand, unless it represents a part of that ancient bargain by which the tenants bought out the monopoly of the lord's corn mill. The 4s. 8d. paid to Loughrigg (doubtless to the grave) clearly carries with it the license to grind the corn of the men of the neighbouring township. And that they used it is certain, else the Clappersgate "Horse Miln" would have proved no rival.

Thomas Dummer's reservation applied, no doubt, to the original Ambleside Hall, with its appurtenances, which were not sold with the rest. For we find him, in 1723, selling to John Benson for £200 "All that his Fire-house," called Ambleside Hall, with houses adjoining called Brew-house and Brighouse, his close called Shaw Wife Orchard, with two orchards below the Hall, the fronts before kitchen and Hall doors, his fold below barn, also one fell grass with common of pasture and turbary, &c., &c.

But before Mr. Dummer completed his sales Sir William Fleming, of Rydal, stepped in, alarmed at the breakup which threatened old rights, and desirous to secure some flotsam of the wreck. He explained by letter to Mr. Dummer that Ambleside Hall had possessed an ancient right of two boats upon Windermere, along with a tribute of twenty char from the fishermen, or their equivalent in money. This right, for want of attention from the owner, was not only in danger of lapsing but of being summarily closed. The Windermere ferry passage, near the middle of the water (the description seems to imply other ferries), had recently been purchased, along with the ferry boats, by a man who had raised the " Antient Rates," both for passengers and for luggage, up and down, and who wished now to secure the sole right of transport on the lake. He had induced Mr. Chambre, steward of Lord Lonsdale, who presided at the Lord's Court at Ambleside, to call together a number of the customary tenants to meet on rent day and impanel a jury, apparently with a view to securing a monopoly on the water. This was done with so little notice that some of the men were only called the day before, when no evidence could be accumulated. Sir William, hearing of it in time, induced "a sensible man" to appear at Court to caution the jury and to induce them to press for time for evidence. One old man was accordingly found who remembered the launching of Mr. Brathwaite's last boat; another who had crossed often to the Pull with Mr. Brathwaite's servants; and a third, a carpenter, who had several times borrowed the luggage-boat to bring wood for his trade up the water. Sir William now proposed to buy the boat-right, since no one else was likely to do so, and as Mr. Cumpstone (evidently now the foremost man of Ambleside) was unwilling; and this accordingly was arranged (see Appendix III).

This matter has been gone into fully because it shows that the Lord's Court, representative of the ancient village moot that settled all local matters by a jury of sworn

inhabitants, was still in 1726 acting, though acting feebly; and that the lord had no power to deal arbitrarily with any question without consent of the people.

Of the Brathwaite's corn mill we hear later in a deed of 1772. This appears to show that the monopoly secured by Gawen in 1639, when he purchased the older mill from the Jacksons (agreeing to pay for ever their 4½d. rent to the lord), was broken again by a new mill, and that this was again closed, by the earlier mill-owners' purchase of it. For Thomas Towlson, deceased, is declared to have been possessed of two water corn mills, occupied by himself and his tenant, which formerly belonged respectively to John Wilson and Solomon Grisdale. Each had a dwelling-house attached; while one answers to the description of the older mill, having a malt kiln and malt house, an orchard and garden, and common rights of peat from the moss. Besides a "quit rent" of 10s., a customary rent of 4½d. is mentioned. This is probably the Jacksons' old rent; and it is doubtless the rights over the Jacksons' long defunct mill that is meant in the deed's recapitulation of Towlson's possessions, which include "three Water Corn Grist Mills," &c., &c. The property (to which were attached two closes to be mentioned later) was bought by James Longmire of Waterhead, in Ambleside, maltster, for £382 15s.

The Brathwaites' mill still holds its own as a corn mill, and now belongs to Mrs. Gibson.* When bought by the late Mr. Gibson, the twin mill for bark across the beck was part of the property; but he sold it off, with the stipulation that its wheel should cease.

IV.—The Chapel.

It is necessary to hark back again if we would trace the known beginning of an institution dear to the hearts of

* Thanks are due to her for loan of the deeds.

Ambleside men, and for long their intimate concern and care. An old paper at Rydal Hall shows that already in 1597 a chapel existed in Ambleside, though when it was built, or how the cost of it was supported by the few townsmen, is not known. The paper merely shows that at that date forty-five landholders, besides fifteen landless house-occupiers, determined that their chapel should be served by an ordained minister, a scholar capable of teaching and preaching, and not a lay-reader; and that they ratified their promise of yearly contributions to "curate waiges" by solemnly pledging certain portions of their lands. This joint and unanimous action recalls the old village community that controlled its lands and dispensed justice. And it is possible that at an earlier date than this the townsfolk may have bestirred themselves to supply a keenly-felt need. For in ecclesiastical matters they were awkwardly placed. The ancient church boundary, fixed probably before the manorial one, while the place was but a clearing in the forest, ran along Stock-beck, and through their very midst. The householders above Stock had to turn their steps for worship, to carry their babes for baptism and their dead for burial three or four miles up the valley to Grasmere Churchyard, by the high track under Nab Scar. At various stations on the way, according to tradition, it was the custom to rest the coffins on large stones while the bearers were changed. The Howe stone on the south side of White Moss has disappeared. But one on the north side still lies by the road under a tree, and is used now by the carrier for the dropping of parcels for adjacent houses. The Ambleside families below Stock (possibly the fewer) faced the other way for church, taking a less mountainous but longer path for Windermere. Each division of the town had to continue its support of the mother church after a chapel for the place had been built. The accounts of the Ambleside Hall estate for 1705 and 1706 show the calls made by the

two churches at that time. For the first year we find "For ye repair of Grasmire and Ambleside Churchs" 5s. 6d., and "For the repair of Windermer Church" 2s. 0½d. Next year comes "An Assessm^t^ for ye repair of Grasm^e^ Church and for prisoner money at 7^d^ A Tenem^t^" 5s., and "For ye repair of Ambleside and Windermer Churches" 14s. 9½d. The coupling of Ambleside chapel with first one church and then the other suggests that the older foundations alternately paid back, for the support of the new, some proportion of the dues collected in the place. Each year, too, the estate pays the pledged amount for the support of its own chapel, which is called "Chappell Stock," £2 2s. 1d.; and there was likewise in 1706 a special call, which stands "For Bookes and Ornaments and repairs of Ambleside Church by Way of Assessm^t^ at 1^s^ A Tenement" 10s. 9d. A "Feild Tythe" to the rector of Windermere is 3s. 3½d.

Some of the Windermere Tithe or Easter Books, showing what was collected from the houses below Stock in the eighteenth century are preserved at Rydal Hall. The "Tyth according to the Custom of Windermere" has among the items "for a Garden 1^d^. Oblations for every Person above the age of 16 years 1½^d^. For Milk from every Nuckold Cow 1½^d^. For every Strip Milkt ½^d^.* For every five calves 1^s^. 6^d^., and every sixth calf 3^s^. 0^d^. For every plough 1^d^. For every single Cast of Bees 1^d^., and for five casts 1^s^. 6^d^. For every single Hen two eggs, and a pullet 1 egg; or for those who pay no eggs 1^d^. For every fishing according to Composition 4^d^. For every Wedding if the Woman live in the parish 1^s^. 4^d^. For every Woman Churched 4^d^. For the night wake of every Burial 8^d^." The valuable tithes of wool, reckoned on the sale of sheep, were accounted for in a separate book; they were due on the first Monday after St. Peter's Day. The

* Nuckelt, newkelt: newly calved. A strip-milked cow, or stripper, is one that is nearly dry.

tithe on corn is said to have been one stouke* in every ten. The holders' houses above Stock paid very similar tithes to Grasmere, and were represented in the governing body of the parish by a churchwarden.

The claims of mother-churches are hard to shake off, and it is evident that the Ambleside men had all to do for themselves when they determined on a chapel of their own. They clearly found it difficult to approach clerics in high places across obstructive patrons and rectors. No ecclesiastical mandate has been found of so early a date as this old worn paper of pledges, which guarantees an income of £6 12s. 10d. to the minister.† But in 1620 another list was drawn up, entitled "A Note of the P'ticuler salary, that every p'ticular man doth paye yearely to the Chaple, and for wch there is this 21th of December 1620 good securitye put into the Towneshippe, by the p'ticuler p'sons that doe paye the same." The number of them was only forty-two, but headed by Mr. Gawen Brathwaite's £2 6s. 6d., the amount reached £10 16s. 10d. The two responsible men chosen as "feoffees" to regulate the affairs of the chapel are named for the years 1619 and 1620. A third list, which gives no date, but from internal evidence was probably written between 1679 and 1704, gives the contributions of thirty-eight townsmen, which amount to £14 7s. 11d.‡ The 1620 document was apparently laid before the authorities with a petition, which obtained recognition, for a Commission was granted by the Archdeacon of Richmond for the division of the chapel into pews or seats, according to an accompanying plan or "plott" submitted to him. This plan was doubtless the same as some later ones which exist, showing the structure to be 24 yards long and 7 yards wide, having two entrances on the south side, and fifty-one

* Stook—*i.e.*, twelve sheaves.

† Appendix IV.

‡ These three chapel lists will be referred to later as I., II., III.

benches and four pews disposed on either side the aisle. The communion table is flanked by seats; the pulpit is placed almost half way down the chapel, and the reading desk between that and the communion table. The only irregularity of outline was at the N.E. corner, where an enlargement extended the pews of Ambleside Hall, which we shall hear of later. Another pew belonging to it faced the pulpit.

Primitive and rude the chapel must have been, with no doubt an earthen floor yearly strewn with rushes. The plate at first was of pewter, since gone (see *Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle*). Thomas Brathwaite in 1674 left, besides £10 to the chapel stock, another £10 for the purchase of two silver chalices to be used on communion days. This bequest, however, seems to have remained unfulfilled, and as if to make it up Mr. James Newton (no doubt another townsman) gave in 1684 a beautful silver chalice, that is yet in existence. Yet this simple structure already engaged the affections of the people. The personal allotment of seats allowed by the Commission in return for contributions and land pledges must have been at that time something of a novelty, but it served the purposes of fixing an income, as the seats were treated as real property, either to be passed on with the land in pledge, or to be sold with all the dignity of deeds and witnesses. The Brathwaites, as the largest contributors, held seats in different parts of the chapel, and when the Ambleside Hall property was broken up its seats, as we have seen, were apportioned to the various purchasers, carrying a proportionate share in the minister's salary. William Tyson, in buying Wansfell Close, took over with it pews or seats " proportionable " to the salary of 1s. 4d. to the minister. Kelsick with Bellstone-brow took seats proportionable to 4d., and George Cumpstone likewise with his various plots of ground accepted seats, and promised salary to an amount left blank in the draft deed. Sir William Fleming, when buying the boat-right

BRONZE ARMLET
Said to have been found in Furness.

UNIV. OF MICH.

and the char, desired to purchase also a certain pew by the chancel which the late Mr. Brathwaite's father had enlarged by "an Out Cast made in the Wall" in order, it was believed, that his numerous family might sit with him. The agreement shows that he secured "two front pews" along with the right to two boats on the lake and the twenty char, for £6 4s. In 1730 William Tyson received 5s. 6d. from John Benson, "and for the said sume John Benson is to have One Seat in the Back Seat adjoyning to Sr Wm Pews and One Seat in the Second Fourme belong *(sic)* the Quire door, and the s^d Wm Tyson is only to have one Seat in the Second Fourme belonging lately to Ambleside Hall in the Low End of the Chapel."

This Commission of 1620 for the allotment of seats was granted, it was expressly stated, with the consent of the holders of the advowsons of Grasmere and Windermere, and of the two rectors, who were all interested in the tithes. They signed it—John Fleming, Esq., and the Rev. John Wilson for Grasmere, Christopher and Robert Philipson, Esqs., and the Rev. Thomas Bousfield for Windermere.

It was fifty-six years later that the Ambleside folk succeeded in their efforts to procure the privilege of baptism, marriage, and burial in their chapel. It is curious to find that they were opposed in this by one patron at least. In July, 1674, the petition for the right, which a deputation of the inhabitants appears to have presented to the bishop in person at Kendal, was subscribed to by him, provided no objection was raised by the rectors of Ambleside and Windermere; and in October, the bishop having received no reply from the rectors, confirmed the petition. In November, however, Squire Daniel Fleming wrote to the bishop, strongly objecting to Ambleside Chapel being made parochial, on the grounds that it would be prejudicial to Grasmere Church, "in Burialls, Christenings, marryages, Churchings, Publishing of ye Banns of matrimony, Keeping of a Register, Nominating of ye Readers at

Ambleside, Ingrossing of Wills & Inventoryes, & in other Customary Dues & paym^ts^." He declares that even if the inhabitants promised to continue these to the mother church, he felt no security that they would carry it out, as they were so lax that they had taken no pains to recover a considerable legacy left by Mr. Robert Jackson, son-in-law of Mr. Tho. Sands of Kendall "to their owne Chappel & Poor." He argues, about burial, that Grasmere church is not above three miles from Ambleside, and that there are no waters to cross, but where there are good stone bridges over them. He writes in the absence of Mr. John Ambrose, rector, now in residence at St. John's, Cambridge, as Fellow; and concludes with the hope that his lordship "by gratifying of a few busy Fellowes" will not wrong any other person. This naturally put some check to the proceedings, and the actual mandate of the Bishop, empowering the rites of the church to be solemnized in the chapel (paying dues still to the mother churches) is dated two years later, in 1676. In 1678 Mr. Thomas Sandes the lawyer was paid a bill of 20s. 0d. for the legal business in the matter, by Mrs. Jane Brathwaite of Troutbeck.

The following is the document from the Rydal Hall MSS. with some abbreviations extended:—

To all Xtian people to whom these Presents shall come, be seen, or may in any wise appertain John by Divine Permission Lord Bishop of Chester sendeth greeting. Whereas a Petition was formerly exhibited to us from the Inhabitants of the Chapellry of Ambleside within the parishes of Grasmergh & Windermergh in the County of Westmerland & Diocese of Chester, Intimating that the said Chapelry is far distant from the said Parish Churches in respect of which & also by reason of the heat in summer & the great snowes & sudden inundations of water in winter it is very difficult & dangerous to carry their dead thither for buriall; did earnestly request that they might be permitted to bury their dead and baptize their children within the said Chappelry promising to pay all ancient & accustomed dues to the Parishes of Grasmergh & Windermergh aforesaid: Wee the said Bishop of Chester doe hereby certify that in consideration of the promise & in regard that the Rectors of Grasmergh & Winder-

mergh had given their Consent to the said petition, An order was issued forth by us impowering the said Inhabitants of Ambleside to bury their dead and baptize their children within the said Chappelry Provided they continued to pay all antient & accustomed dues whatsoever to the Parishes of Grasmergh & Windermergh as before & not otherwise: Given under our hand and seall the tenth day of July in the year of our Lord 1676 And in the fourth year of our Consecration.

(Sealed by)

John Cestricus.

V.—Curates and Schoolmasters.

It was no doubt intended from the first that the curate of Ambleside should teach the village children, as was the custom of the district; and probably the inhabitants hoped that in paying his salary, they had secured his election to themselves. And in all probability they did at first elect him, while the young chapel excited little notice in high quarters. Certainly they would enjoy the privilege during the interregnum. It was in 1643 that the Long Parliament swept away the old order of church government by ecclesiastics, and established a new order. A lay committee in each county, of 15 to 30 gentlemen, with local committees under it, controlled the church; and these, after seeing that fit ministers (according to their persuasion) were appointed, left each congregation to please itself as to the style of its worship—whether Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist. In 1645 a committee was formed at Kendal, with the Mayor at its head, and of the four Elders appointed for the control of Grasmere parish, Mr. Thomas Brathwaite was one. This proves that the family was Parliamentarian in politics, and Puritan in religion.*

Naturally therefore the registers of the diocese of Chester record no ordination of a curate for Ambleside during that period. But a study in the old chapel registers yields the name of one who may prove to be the first of

* For information about the Kendal Committee and the local Elders I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Martindale.

its known ministers. The registers themselves are curious enough for mention. They begin, for baptisms, as early as 1642; while the burials start in 1675—almost before the Bishop's licence was dated; and the marriages (of which we hear somewhat in Sir Daniel Fleming's account-book, in items of 2s. 6d., sent occasionally as a wedding "Offering") in 1680. They were written on oblong pieces of parchment, 15 inches by 4½; and when each piece was filled, with the baptisms on one side, and burials and marriages on another,—the burials of a whole year being sometimes contained in this small space—another of the same size was well stitched to the lower edge, and the record proceeded. Thus a long, ribbon-like roll was formed; and when this became bulky, another was started. There are three of these rolls, that uncoil respectively to the bewildering length of 7½, 7, and 12 yards. In the last roll the stitched pieces, still only 4½ inches in width, are 24 inches long.

Within this narrow limit the early entries are written in a fine, legible hand, perfectly clear, except where the ink has got rubbed off, as it is liable to be in a roll. And in apparently the same hand, but in larger script and dignified by the use of Latin, we come across the following:—

Henricus, filius Henrici Turner Clerici baptizatus vicesimo quarto die Februarij, 1647.

As another child was baptized in 1658 we can only conclude that the Rev. Henry Turner was resident, and serving as the duly accredited curate and schoolmaster for a period of eleven years at least. This conjecture is confirmed by a letter existing among the Rydal Hall Papers.* Though it belongs rather to the history of Grasmere church than to Ambleside, the portion of it that relates to the Ambleside

* It was one of those sorted by the Historical MSS. Commission, and is numbered in the volume 284. The epitome of it given there, however, describes the unnamed church as Rydal.

curate may be quoted. It was written by John Banks, the faithful servant and factotum of young Squire Daniel Fleming, who had just wrested from the Commonwealth and his relatives the long disputed ownership of Rydal Hall, and had now sent John forward to put matters a little straight before his own home-coming.

The graphic narrative sets the whole scene before us: the passive minister, who obeys Mr. Brathwaite, and then awaits the result of the contest between clerk and bailiff: the waiting congregation, silent as to the side they individually took, whether for "Wallas" or the accredited curate. It will be noticed that no established form of service was attempted, for in this year the use of the Prayer Book had been prohibited.

Honoured Sir,

I praise God I got saffe to Rydale wth the oxen on Saturday at night where I was fforced to staye all night it was soe late I acquainted the P'isho^rs^ that you had sent them word to get a minister every Lord's daye till such tyme as you presented one, and that the might paye them out off the tythes, but none would meddle unless I would goe to the Church and appear wth them soe I was fforced either to neglect it or send to Mr. Turner off Amblesyd to procure him to goe to preach wch I did And he went to yo^ur^ Cousin Bratwhait to aske his advice and leave that he might goe, soe he gaue him leave and adviced him to goe, soe he came to Rydale and I went along wth him But Wallas seeing us cum almost at the Church went quite away to Langdale Chapple whether he intended to goe beffore or noe I knowe not, But he lefft the Clarke to oppose us who would not suffer Mr. Turner to read in the usuall place soe I wished Mr. Turner to goe into the pulpit and officiate But the Clark begun to read a Chapter and I bid him giue over but he would not, soe I shutt the booke soe Mr. Turner read a Chappter and sung a psalme and begune to preach and when the sermon was done I spoke to some off the P'ishone^rs^ to procure every Lords Daye a minister & pay them off theire tithes." . . . . .

Conyston this 11 Feb. 1655. Yo^ur^ obedient servant,

John Bankes.

Thus did the young squire, whose family had been staunch loyalists and churchmen, begin to restore order in

the parish church with a strong hand; and when Church and King were once more established, he soon let it be seen that, as patron of Grasmere, the affairs of Ambleside chapel too must be ordered after his liking. In 1669 some friction seems to have arisen over the nomination of a minister for the place between himself and his cousin, Mr. Robert Brathwaite, and the draft of a letter written by him to the Archbishop of York on the occasion is extant. He prays the Archbishop that the bearer of the letter, Mr. John Pearson, may be ordained deacon, and licensed to read prayers in Ambleside chapel (which has a stipend of about £12) and to teach the young children of the place: and this he asks on behalf of himself, patron of Grasmere, Mr. John Ambrose, incumbent, and almost all the inhabitants of Ambleside. Mr. John Pearson, he goes on to say, had been—although he held a licence from Mr. Mayer, Sir Joseph Cradock's surrogate, lately inhibited from reading prayers in the chapel by the Archbishop's officers, and that "through the great importunity" of Mr. Thomas Brathwaite,—the only person in the town against him, and who (the writer assures his Grace) has no more power in Ambleside—though a Justice of the Peace throughout the late Rebellion—than any other of the King's customary tenants there. Had the writer known that Mr. Brathwaite had been to Kendal, he himself would have taken pains to set the matter right with Dr. Burwell; for, even if Ambleside were partly in Windermere, the Philipsons could not claim the sole nomination to a chapel that was situated in another parish. (Thus was the position of the building, above Stock, used to gain the whip hand in the over-driven church coach). He would not trouble his Grace, but he knows of no ordination in the province—the Bishops of Chester, Durham, or Carlisle being out of the country—till September, which is too long to leave the chapel unserved. He is confident the bearer will "read ye Com'onprayer punchually according to ye Rubricks & catechise ye young ones in y^{e}

Towne, wh. I presume will be much better, than to have some Geneva-Blade brought in upon them,"—a sentence which clearly points to the puritan leanings of the Brathwaites.

This appeal to the highest church authority of the north is interesting, as showing the confused ecclesiastical status of this part of Westmorland at that time, which belonged to the archdeaconry of Richmondshire, while it was (and had been since the time of Henry VIII.) in the diocese of Chester. Whether the acting archdeacon and the bishop would be pleased with it is not certain, but it was at anyrate successful; and John Pearson was ordained deacon on the 14th of June, and priest on September 21, as the registers of Chester show.

Moreover, it formed a precedent that became the rule. Not only the claims of Windermere patron and rector were brushed aside, but those of the rector of Grasmere, to whom the right of nomination belonged, (according to Dr. Burn), if the townsfolk and builders failed to secure it; and the patronage remains to this day with the owners of Rydal.

Discontent there may have been in some quarters, for it seems that by 1674 several of the inhabitants were in arrears with their pledged payments to the minister's salary, and it needed an appeal to the Bishop to set matters right. Accordingly there came down, on lordly parchment, with great seal attached, an order setting forth the negligence of those who, having money for the chapel left in their care, refuse to pay their dues, though the present curate was brought in to officiate with the general consent of the inhabitants (except two or three); and commanding them forthwith to pay. The Bishop likewise commands that the papers and deeds of the chapel, now in the hands of Thomas Brathwaite, Esq., should be deposited with such a person and in such a place as shall be decided on by a majority of the inhabitants.

The tone of the Bishop's mandate implies that all the sums wanting were interest on chapel-endowment or capital. But this is hardly likely. What small endowment there was, reached in 1692 only £45 10s. 2d., and this was placed out among the statesmen. There would be no difficulty in securing the interest of it by secular law. It is probable that he mistook the nature of those land-pledges put in by the towns-folk, which were only guarantees of what had been a voluntary tax, and which some of them may now in dudgeon have refused to pay. But whatever the friction caused by the appointment, it must have presently died away. So loyal were the Ambleside people to their little house of worship that not even the strong attraction of George Fox, who found many followers in neighbouring valleys at this time, could draw them from it. And we find by the Subsidy Rolls of 1675, as in that of 1661, that one Roger Borwick was the only non-communicant in the town, and therefore liable to a tax of 1s. 4d.

The Rev. John Pearson's is the first name of an officiating minister that the Ambleside Church authorities have been able to procure officially for the list they intend to set up in the church. The second is the Rev. Richard Wright, who in 1682 bore a petition to the Bishop, again in the name of the patron, the vicar, and curate of Grasmere, as well as of the inhabitants of Ambleside, that he may be licensed to serve Ambleside Chapel and to teach the children, the post being "now voyd."

But from Sir Daniel Fleming's great account book we hear of another schoolmaster who preceded him, and who (if not taking the chapel duty also) was possibly acting as a substitute in the school for the Rev. John Pearson. The Rydal squire's three eldest sons, William, Henry, and Daniel had all been educated at the Kendal Grammar School, whither George, next in age, had followed them. The latter had had half a year alone there, after Daniel left; but in 1681, when in his fourteenth year, his father,

possibly drawn by the reputation of the Ambleside teacher or for some reason of convenience, removed him, and with his three next brothers (who had been hitherto taught at the Rydal village school) placed him at the neighbouring town. Under January 26, $16\frac{80}{81}$, an entry runs :—

Sent by George to give Mr. Thwaites at Ambleside for entering Pennies for himself, Michael, Rich. & Roger my sons 00lb 05s 00d

Next we hear of the schoolmaster's perquisites at Candlemas :—

Feb. 13. Paid by Geo. Michael, Rich. & Roger to buy Candles for their schoolmaster at Ambleside 00 00 04

Then comes the great school festival of the cock-fight on Shrove Tuesday, and further perquisites.

Feb. 14. Given to Geo. Mich. Rich. & Roger for their Cockpennies 00 04 00

And to James & Fletcher theirs 00 01 00

It is clear from this that the complimentary payment of the cock-penny varied in amount according to the status of the school, and the age (and probably the rank) of the pupil; for the two youngest boys were yet conning their horn-books on the benches of Rydal school. Next comes the startling entry :—

Given George to bett upon his cock at Ambleside 00lb 00s 06d

Thus was the future Bishop of Carlisle encouraged to the sports of the time among the youths of Ambleside school! On April 25 comes :—

to Jo. Newton of A. in part for my 4 sons Dinners 1lb 10s 0d

Five shillings more concludes the half-year's dinner account "in full." And under July 26 we read :—

Paid unto Mr. Thwaits for my 4 Boyes for halfe a yeares teaching (with ye 10s. Alice paid him) ye Sum' of . 01lb 00s 00d

The trial had not apparently proved successful, and on August 17 the four youngsters were packed off with a present for Mr. Sadler, the master, to Hawkshead Grammar School, where their cock-pennies rose from the 6d. of Rydal and the 1s. of Ambleside to 2s. 6d. each.

Four years later Mr. Thwaites seems to have departed, for an entry occurs under October 20, 1685 :—

Given at Ambleside Chapell to a Collection for Mr Thwaits
00^lb^ 05^s^ 00^d^

These collections were not unusual for the clergy, and on June 29, 1684, an entry runs :—

Given at Ambleside Chappell to Mr. Curwen a poor Preacher
00^lb^ 02^s^ 00^d^

A donation to a "Running Preacher" (not in church) is 6d. only.

Of the Rev. Roger Fleming, who (according to the list published in the Ambleside *Parish Magazine* for August, 1904) in 1686 followed the Rev. Richard Wright (nominated 1682), no record has been found at Rydal Hall, except what an exhaustive study of the agist-books of the demesne has furnished. From these books we get a glimpse of the clergyman's farming proclivities, which—as he was no statesman—had to be indulged beyond the limits of the township. Thus in 1688, "Roger Fleming, minister of Ambleside," has one cow to grass "in the Lowhow by the week, at 6^d^ in the week, 3 weeks 1^s^ 6^d^."*

Two years later he joins with Richard Forrest, tailor of Ambleside, in renting the Low How altogether for the summer grazing, at £1 12s. 6d. Two years later still, he takes the whole without a partner. In 1695 "Mr. Roger Fleming's widow, late of Ambleside," puts a heifer to grass in Rydal.

* This fine piece of rocky land lies across the Scandale Beck from Ambleside. As part of the Rydal Low Park (as distinguished from the High Park), its name of Low Park How became contracted, and later corrupted to Crow How.

On September 11th, 1694, the Rev. Thomas Knott was licensed to Ambleside Chapel. It is probable that he was one of the Knotts of Grasmere, who migrated about this time to Rydal, and remained in close connection with the hall, as stewards and neighbours, for almost a century. In his time we gain another glimpse (through the chance discovery of a bill in the Browne MSS.) of the village school, which not only included Greek in its curriculum, but drew boys to board in Ambleside in order to attend it. To be sure this boy had peculiar ties to the place. His mother was Dorothy, daughter of Robert Brathwaite, brother of the last resident of Ambleside Hall, and oddly enough, he was boarded at first in the home of his ancestors, for the Michael Tyson of the bill was the farmer who rented the hall and the lands at that time from the family. But he was soon moved to Thomas Mackereth, as the bill shows. The mixture of items in it is amusing. No doubt Latin and other school books, as well as the school fees, would come along with him from the home just broken up by the death of his father; as was the case with Sir Daniel Fleming's sons. His wear upon stockings seems to have been heavy, and clearly his shirts ran out, as was likely with a motherless boy.*

June ye 25 Anno Dom'j 1698

Money laid out for Thomas Atkinson Second Sone of Miles Atkinson by Benjamin Browne and John Rigg And by ye order of Robert Atkinson his Elder Brother ut sequit^r^.

ye 25	for a Greek Gram^r^	...	...	...	0	0	8
August 24	A pair of Gloves ...	...	...	...	0	0	3½
9 ^br^ ye 5	for A Paper Booke	...	...	...	0	0	6
ye 7	A winchest^r^ Phrases	...	...	...	0	2	6
	Two Long Cravatts	...	...	...	0	2	8
Decemb^r^ ye 21	To Michaell Tyson for half a year Table			...	2	0	0
	A New Hatt for him	...	...	...	0	2	6

* "Mr. Myles Atkinson" was buried at Kendal, June 11th, 1698. High House, Hugill, which had come to him from the Brathwaites with his wife, was sold by his executors, Dec. 17th, 1698. (Mr. J. A. Martindale).

	To Oliver partridge shooes & mending ...	0	3	0
Jan: ye 14	4 yrds & 1 qrtr for 2 shirts at 1s 2d ...	0	4	11½
	for makeing 2 shirts and Thred ...	0	0	5
	2 pair of stockings at Kendall ...	0	1	0
Feb.				
ye 23	A pair of Stockinns	0	0	8
Ap: ye 8	5 yrds of Harden* at 1s	0	5	0
99	makeing 2 shirts and Thred	0	0	6
May ye 9	To Oliver partridge for mending Shooes ...	0	1	3
ye 23	To Tho: Mackereth for A qrtr (quarter) Table	1	2	6
	A pair of Buckles...	0	0	4
		4	8	9

Another hand :—

May ye 23 1699

All the Disbursments aforesaid laid out for my Brother Thomas were by my Order and according to my Fathers desire and I doe further order my two Guardians Ben: Brown, and John Rigg, to furnish him with meat Drink Cloths and Learning with Books, and I will allow the same out of my Estate Wittnesse my hand

Robt Atkinson

Test
Thomas Mackereth

It was the Rev. Thomas Knott whom John Kelsick called in to make his will, when he was dying at the age of twenty-four. John was the son of George Kelsick, as the chapel registers show, and was baptised on March 14th, 1699. Whether George was the son of that John Kelsick, who from the year 1660 onwards was a provision dealer on a large scale, is not yet proved. It is extremely likely, however. Kelsick appears as a new name in Ambleside towards the middle of the seventeenth century, and the "Rental" of 1675 shows John Kelsick to be in possession of a holding that paid a lord's rent of 16s. 8d. Property, such as young John left behind in 1723, was only at that time acquired with rapidity by some sort of trade or commerce. Moreover, James Fisher left in 1681

* Harden, coarse hempen cloth.

a small property in trust to four trustees—of whom John Kelsick was one—and their heirs; and the deed by which the trust was wound up in 1697 shows the signature of George.* The chapel list, iii. (see Appendix IV.) gives George as the only contributor of the name of Kelsick.

The letter written by the curate of Ambleside to the rector of Grasmere (then residing at his other living), on the death of John, is worth reading in full.

Ambleside Jan: ye 24th day 1723.

Rev^d D^r

Yours I received for wch I thank you and I send the enclosed as directed. Jno Kelsick's will, you may be sure was made both hastily and without much advice or consideration, for he liv'd but about four days after he begun. He was not to be advised but what his inclination and will led him too. When I found I could not have the advantage of the Schole I was troubled tho' he and I were very gracious, yet when he prov'd so adverse after I had considered that it would quitt me of a great deal of Slavery wch I have been confined too these many years without any great gain or satisfaction I was rather satisfied and thought pity to slip so good an opportunity it may do good to some. It will be no great loss to ye minister for 6^d per quarter will not amount to much yearly. He was for having the Schole built upon his own ground below the bridge yet he was persuaded to let us build itt as near the Chapel as we could. Those that live may see the Church and Schole Joyned together wch will make a good place tho' not in my time I shall have nothing by itt but trouble. The Schole will be worth, I believe, 20^lb per Annum after his Debts, Legacies and Funeral Expences are paid wch will amount to 400^lb and upwards. I have here inclosed sent you a Copy of that part of his Will, it is very long there are several small Legacies given to his relations but if you have a mind to have a Copy of the whole will, you shall have itt when you come over. I desire you to consider of itt and to let us have your Advice and Assistance in the managem^t of the great Trust for the publick Good and credit of the Donor and I do not question but the Chapel Salary be advanced considerably after a little time, we have some good men yet. Pray, wink att small faults and let us have a kind

* If this link were certain, the interesting fact would be assured that Mr. Gibson's shop in Church Street—still a part of the Kelsick Trust property, once called Kelsick Hall, and, no doubt, the original holding of the family—has been used for the same trade for 245 years at least.

Answer the next opportunity wch will be a great Encouragem^t to us in the managem^t of itt. My humble Service to you and yours. I am

Rev^d D^r
Your humble Servant
whilst
Tho: Knott

Not one person knew anything of his will but I till after his death.

To
The Revd Dr Fleming att
the Parsonage in Ashby
this carefully & with speed
Westmoreland.

The recital of the will shows that John Kelsick left the bulk of his property in Ambleside, paying a yearly lord's rent of £1 3s. 11½d. to three trustees—John Mackereth and George Cumpstone, yeomen, and Thomas Knott, clerk—for the foundation of a free school. A portion of it was to be sold for erecting the school, and the rest secured for the schoolmaster's salary. He cut out the curate (at least, for the time being) from the post, which hurt the Rev. Thomas at first, declaring that the election should be made by the three trustees and their survivors, along with the feoffees of the chapel salary:—"nevertheless it is my will and mind That Thomas Newton Son of Barbara Walker Shall be first Elected and Chosen Scholemaster to teach a Free Schole there by my said Trustees and the Feoffees for the time being." The executors were to receive £1 each.

Two years later the trustees succeeded in purchasing from Gawen Brathwaite, jun., of Brathay, a rood of ground near the chapel called the Parracks, joining Mr. Dummer's Chapel Close on the north and the highway on the south; and on this the Free Grammar School was built. When it was moved to its present site near the new church, the old building was turned into cottages. In 1800 the rents accruing from the Kelsick property reached £51 8s.

The Rev. Thomas Knott's successor, Jonathan Myles,

again joined the two offices of curate and schoolmaster. He had been elected master of the Free School in 1738, and on Mr. Knott's death in December, 1744, took the cure, having been ordained in 1742 (Ambleside *Parish Magazine*). It was when the Rev. J. Myles died, in 1753, that Mr. Thomas Knott, successor to his father as trustee, wrote from his distant home to complain of the action of the Ambleside people, who had elected a schoolmaster on the very day (Sunday) after the last one's death, and without himself knowing of the matter. The descent of the trusteeship, in fact, proved a difficulty, and by 1778 a readjustment was necessary. Sir Michael le Fleming was asked to serve as one of the trustees, and he wished to add to himself the rectors of Windermere and Grasmere. This was wisely opposed, and two landowners of Ambleside, Mr. James Wilson and Mr. William Jackson, were appointed.

The Rev. Mr. Myles had, it seemed, during an interregnum at the Hall, been nominated by Mr. Craike, then rector of Grasmere. This created a precedent, and Sir William Fleming had in 1753 some difficulty in reasserting his title to nomination, which the bishop believed to be lodged with the rector. He was induced, after another choice, to nominate the Rev. Isaac Knipe, who was the man so precipitately elected by the Ambleside men as schoolmaster. Of him we hear much in the Rydal Hall papers, both by letters of his own and others. A period of decadence had, indeed, come over the ministers of the church, if not over the body of it. To the earnest religious feeling of the seventeenth century had succeeded a general carelessness of living, and a habit of using the endowments of the church for purely personal ends. The Rev. Jonathan Myles had not been above sitting in the ale-house with boon companions, where his extraordinary action one day in "bullocking the constable" entailed serious consequences, gave business to the Quarter Sessions, and set the whole town by the ears.

The Rev. Isaac Knipe was a man of another stamp. Son of John Knipe, "pleb.," and born at Flodder in Westmorland, he gained entrance to Queen's College, Oxford, as batler in 1735. In 1741 he took his B.A. degree, and his M.A. three years later. He was elected fellow of his college in 1752.* In 1742 he was appointed to the curacy of Staveley Chapel, near Kendal; and when in 1753 nominated for Ambleside, he was found to be likewise in possession of Ings (Hugill) Chapel, a mile and a half from Staveley. As this cure also had a school attached, he had hired an assistant to do his duty there. The bishop on discovering this wrote by his secretary that, as he already held two chapelries (licensed thereto by the late bishop), each of which received the royal bounty, and which therefore ought to be served by a separate curate, he could by no means be allowed to absorb a third. Ambleside being apparently the better portion, Isaac Knipe relinquished Staveley, though apparently not till the following year. The bishop then discovered (what he seems not to have understood) that the wily minister was keeping Hugill along with Ambleside, and commanded him to relinquish it, or to pay to his substitute, Thomas Scales, the whole of the chapel salary. Some feeling, indeed, was excited against Isaac Knipe in Ings, and the inhabitants tried to secure the nomination of Mr. Bateman of Crook to serve their cure. Thomas Scales seems to have written to the bishop about this, for in a reply that exists, telling him his decision with regard to the Rev. Isaac, the strong sentence occurs :—

I know nothing of Mr. Bateman's Pretensions to succeed you; but as you were in Possession I think you had a right to the offer of the augmentation. He who had served the Cure for the mean and Scandalous Salary of eight Pounds had best Pretence for the whole. Let me know what is done in consequence of this Letter.

I am, Sir, Y^r^ affectionate Servt.

Edmund Chester.

* For particulars of the Knipes, I am entitled to the Provost of Queen's College.

But Knipe, learning all this, bestirred himself. From various influential quarters he sought help in influencing the bishop. A reply of Mr. Speed, the Proctor, from Chester, assures him he can do nothing to alter his superior's sentiments. He significantly adds that he has not seen "the Gentleman who you said wo[d] pay me for the Certificate. I mention this only because you hinted to me that such person wo[d] call on mee."

Sir William Fleming, however, was more amenable, and wrote to the Bishop, whose reply is certainly worth reading.—

1754. Ry. H. Papers.

Sir, I have received your Favour which I should have acknowledged sooner, if my removal from Chester, and some Continuance in London had not prevented its coming to hand in due Time. It is very true that I have called upon Mr. Knipe to resign Hugill, or else which will be pretty much the same, to allow the whole income of the Chapelry to his assistant. The holding of two Chapels, and allowing a pitifull Stipend to a Curate of one of them is an evil growing in my Diocese which I am determined to prevent. It is contrary to Law, it defeats the Intention of the royal Bounty, and leaves the Chapels as mean as if no such good had hapned to them. The Method is to find a Schoolmaster with a small income and then to add 7 or 8 p[ds]. a Year to him for the care of the Parish, whereas I consider the School as totally separate from the Curacy, and shall assign to the Person so employed as much as if he had no such School. Mr. Knipe, I am well informed, does not receive less than £70 a Year from his Fellowship and has no pretence for any further Indulgence. I have publickly declared my resolution of securing the inferior Clergy from oppression, and tho' this may displease some persons who will put less money into their pockets, yet I hope the Laity will approve of my Conduct in this respect whose sole view is to rescue the lower Clergy from that contempt which the narrowness of their income must necessarily bring upon them. When Sir you have considered matters in this Light I persuade myself I shall have your concurrence in this Measure what is resolved or not out of personal Deslike to M[r] Knipe, but merely on principle and duty in the discharge of my pastoral office.

I am Sir

your most obed[t] Serv[t]

Camb: Oct[r] 4. 1754 Edm: Chester

It is disappointing to find, after this, that the bishop yielded, at least to the extent of allowing Mr. Knipe to keep Hugill, if he granted his substitute £15 annually. He appears to have lived in Ambleside, and to have actually taught the school himself with credit. His gossipping letters to his patron give us news of the place, and he is not above recording the shortcomings of his reverend brother of Troutbeck chapel, who twice recently had drunk too much on Saturday to be able to perform service on Sunday, to the dismay of the churchwarden, who had secured the key of the church by way of reprisal. Long afterwards, in 1781, we find this able pluralist again working his patron, now Sir Michael le Fleming. The latter wrote in that year in his behalf to the newly created Bishop of Winchester, begging that the Ambleside minister might retain Niton in the Isle of Wight, of which he had been rector eighteen years, without residence there, as he had done by the indulgence of the late bishop; averring that the Rev. Isaac's loss would be felt "in this Country where he has taught school with great reputation for near forty years." The outcome of this letter we do not know; but five years later he was laid to his rest here, having apparently had assistance for some time in the school from one Mr. John Cookson. In his time the endowment of the chapel was increased. Small gifts of unrecorded donors had, as early as 1664, been placed out on mortgage among the landowners, and these in 1755 amounted to £40 10s. An attempt was made then to raise the sum to £100, to meet the £100 conditionally left for that intent by Dr. Stratford, who had likewise left in the previous year four theological works for the use of the curate of Ambleside. The Ambleside *Parish Magazine* states the minister's salary to have been £14 in 1753, when Isaac Knipe took it, and £30 at his death.

The same paper gives the name of Christopher Roberts as assistant curate in the year 1786, when the Rev. John Wilson was nominated by Sir Michael. The latter had

previously taught the school at Blackburn, an arduous post which he longed to be free of, and which he had held with the curacy of Tockholes in Lancashire. This last, in the sad fashion of the time, he desired still to retain. He employed an assistant here for the school, as is apparent on his death in 1791, when John Dawes (once pupil of the Rev. Isaac Knipe) supplicated that he may keep the school he is already teaching, though he will not aspire to the curacy. The bishop seems not to have considered him yet fit for orders, but he kept the school under the next curate. This was John Knipe, son of Isaac, who, when offered the post of curate and schoolmaster by Sir Michael, wrote fearing that the school would prove too confining for him. But he could reside for two or three months in the summer without the least inconvenience, he says, if that would suffice, "as it would be the occasion of an annual visit to my friends in Westmorland." As he has no particular engagement in college (Queen's, Oxford, of which he was later Fellow) next month, he could come over and confer about it. His mother at the same time wrote from Ambleside to beg a little time for her son's decision. He accepted, but his absenteeism evidently proved too much. An undated letter to his patron states that it had been his intention to return to Ambleside to reside there, but as Sir Michael is so desirous that Mr. Crakelt should have the chapel he will resign, and hopes some employment will be found for Mr. Dawes. Later, he says he will resign the school in November, but hopes Sir Michael will not object to his keeping the curacy till he had in some degree reimbursed himself for expenses in building, and until he sees how his situation in Hamburg may be agreeable to him. From Hamburg, where he is established with his sister, he finally writes to resign in favour of Mr. Crakelt on March 21, 1795, only requiring that the money from the school and chapel shall, after deducting Mr. Dawes' salary, be given to him.

When Mr. Crakelt resigned in 1811, John Dawes' reward seems at last to have come, for one of that name was presented to the curacy, and held it till his death in 1845. He had apparently been long infirm, for the Cumberland and Westmorland *Directory* of 1829 states that he was then assisted by the Rev. Owen Lloyd, and that the Rev. William Sewell, incumbent of Troutbeck, was teaching the Free School. The Rev. Owen Lloyd, son of Charles Lloyd of Old Brathay, was at that time living with his friend, Mrs. Luff, at Fox Ghyll. The rush-bearing hymn which he wrote for the annual church festival is still in use. In his pastoral care Ambleside was happy, and seems to have been no less so under his successor, the Rev. Thomas Troughton; for when the old curate at last died, Lady le Fleming received a petition signed by 181 inhabitants, headed by Mr. Benson Harrison, praying that in place of "our late venerable & respected Incumbent" "our present Curate" Mr. Troughton, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, who with the greatest piety and zeal has performed "his sacred duties without any stipend" may be appointed. It is disappointing to find that Mr. Troughton deserted his ardent admirers next year, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Irton Fell.

This date brings us to comparatively modern times. The old chapel, decayed and damp and almost past using, was re-built by subscription during the Rev. John Dawes' time (in 1812), and this later edifice is still used for additional services. It is called St. Anne's, though it is doubtful whether it was ever formally consecrated. The new St. Mary's, built after Sir Gilbert Scott's design, was consecrated on June 14th, 1854.

One name has yet to be mentioned, however, that should probably have come first of the curates.

In Nicolson and Burn's account of Rydal we read:—"In the highway, at the end of the old orchard, was a causeway, which was charitably made by John Bell,

curate and schoolmaster of Ambleside; every Thursday and Saturday in the afternoon causing his scholars to gather stones for the paving thereof, and he did then pave the same himself."

Search in the registers of Grasmere and Ambleside* through the early years of the eighteenth century failed to find any trace of the Rev. John Bell. If the story—which reminds one of Ruskin and his undergraduate roadmakers—be not a myth, the tradition of it must have been (in 1770) an old one. A John Bell was one of the six deponents of the ancient customs of the common peat-mosses in 1699; but he must have been an old and trusted townsman. Another John Bell, "Old," witnessed a deed of the Forrests in 1589, but he could not write his name. A deed of Squire John Fleming's, dated 1617, was, however, witnessed by three men of Rydal and by John Bell, "curate." This, then, may have been the man whose act of good citizenship proves not only that he was a true leader of youth, but that he must have drawn some of his pupils from Rydal, if not from Grasmere. In mending the miry bottom of the short cut between Scandale and Old Hall Hills, he gave them good footing for their winter journeys to and fro.

VI.—The Town.

Ambleside had secured her wool market and two fairs in the year in 1650. That this coveted privilege was better suited to her than to the older township of Grasmere is clear from the public rating papers of the seventeenth century, which show how she had outstripped the

* For which I am greatly indebted to the Revs. C. Jennings and H. B. M. Lafone. For permission for later search, I have to thank the Revs. J. Heywood and J. Hawksworth. Since the above was in type, Mr. Browne has found in the registers of Windermere the burial of Henry Turner, "minister of Ambleside," on January 3rd, 1668. Also of Thomas Mayson, "minister of Ambleside," on November 9th, 1647. As the Troutbeck registers show that "Mr Hen: Turner of Ambleside" had a daughter buried on May 17th, 1648, he must have followed Mayson immediately.

villages round. For 1636 her valuation in rents is set down as £24; while Grasmere is £13 6s. 8d., and Rydal and Loughrigg £9. The same valuation was made for the rates in 1664, after the Restoration. The poll-tax of 1690 gives some insight into her population. She then paid £12 7s., while the whole of Langdale, Grasmere, Rydal, and Loughrigg paid a total only of £10 10s. The place, too insignificant to be named in 1283, was now used as a centre of the district, where the representatives of the ancient Hundred Court could meet. In May, 1675, a special Quarter Sessions was convened by the Justices in Ambleside to decide about cases connected with the hearth-tax. This hated tax was farmed out by the Crown to a high bidder, whose agents levied it often in so unjustifiable and harsh a manner that the magistrates had sometimes to step in and protect the people. Complaints were endless; and we find that the May sitting had to be adjourned till October, when the indefatigable lord of Rydal sat again, with his cousin Philipson (of Windermere), to conclude the matter.

There was already a resident surgeon in the place, Charles Brooke, who had married Bridget Sandys, granddaughter of Gawen and niece of Thomas Brathwaite. Sir Daniel speaks several times of his cousin Brooke, with whom he had convivial meetings (costing him as much as 4s. on one occasion) with other cousins.

The enterprising folk had likewise added to their industries a paper mill, which was quite a novelty. In the account book we read :—

Nov. 10. 81. Rec. of Rich. Compston of Ambleside for an oak tree for an Axletree for his Paper Mill (besides 2^{s} given him back) ye sum of 02^{lb} 08^{s} 00^{d}

and later "to Compston for brown Paper 6^{d}."

Possibly the new mill was placed on Scandale Beck, above Low Sweden Bridge, for a piece of ground adjacent is still called Paper-mill Coppice, and there is a ruined

building near. This position would make a tree from the adjacent Rydal demesne convenient. A Richard Cumpston, "papermaker," was buried in the chapel-yard June 2nd, 1693. He may have been related to the later prominent George, builder of the lodge on the orchard he had bought from the Ambleside Hall property, who married a granddaughter of Sir Daniel Fleming, daughter of Richard.

Other glimpses of Ambleside folk do we get from the account book. We learn slowly from this that the system of freight by pack-horses, which moved in gangs at that time over the country roads, was almost as convenient a medium for shopping as the present parcel-post. For there was not a town in the neighbouring counties (except Lancashire beyond the Sands) in which Sir Daniel did not buy provisions, clothes, or books, besides occasional purchases made in Newcastle and London, and he did business with the Ambleside tradesmen at times. Before he got large supplies of wine from the shippers of Newcastle or Cockermouth, he would send for a few quarts of sack or wine at a time from Gawen Mackereth. Gawen was probably the precursor of George Mackereth, who (as the licensing papers show) kept, along with five other men, ale-houses in Ambleside in 1691. In 1791 there were five altogether—the Salutation, White Lion, Unicorn, Fox and Goose, and a signless one.

Wheaten bread, which was bought in small quantities for the upper table in Rydal Hall, was got in Ambleside, if the horses were not going to Kendal. An early entry stands:—

April 3. 57. Paid unto ye bread-woman at Amb: beeing all
00lb 01s 02d

Kelsick, the grocer, was occasionally patronised too:—

June 7. 1660. Paid by Jo. Bankes unto Kelsicke for sugar &c., against my wife's falling sicke, being in full of all Reckonings, &c &c.
02lb 04s 00d

Kelsick would seem to have had some connection with Hawkshead, possibly going to the market there each week. Under February 8th, 1672-3, comes:—

For a syde of mutton at Ambleside February 5, 1672, 2^{s} 10^{d}. A quarter of veal 1^{s} 4^{d}. paid Kelsick for veal at Hawkeshead 3^{s} 1^{d}.

Again:—

Paid by John Banckes unto John Kelsick February 13th 1677, for a syde of veal at H. Munday before 3^{s} 2^{d}, cockles and muscles 6^{d}, wheat-bread 6^{d}.

Then on February 20th, 1681-2:—

Sent by John Kelsick's wife unto my four sons at Hawkeshead for their cock-pennies 00^{lb} 10^{s} 00^{d}

William Benson, the draper, is often dealt with. He supplies "lin-cloth" for the boys' shirts, "kerseys" for various uses—one to make George and Richard's "gam'aiches," and "brown friezed cloth," at 6½d. a yard (a very low price), to make a coat for the young Miss Fleming's music master, who, besides a present of clothes, had an occasional small sum of money given him.

Lancelot Benson is a very trusted sadler. He is paid in 1676 "for a new male, mending of an old one," with all owing, 12s. In 1680 he receives for "a new large Portmanto" the enormous sum of 16s. When the knight goes to take his seat in Parliament in 1685, "Lanty" is paid "for making of a Portmantle, which I carried to London, 6^{s}." This seems small in proportion to the occasion, but the leather had been supplied, and is entered elsewhere.

In 1662, two cups of butter are bought in Ambleside at 10d.; and in 1674, 16½ lbs. at 6s. 3½d. Two "cases" of mutton, 7s. 6d., are paid for on December 2nd, 1674, to which entry is incidentally added "ye day of ye Bureall of Tho. Brathwait, esq." Thus are great events (for that funeral must have made a great impression in the town,

and furnished a notable sight as it wound slowly from the Hall along the rocky hillside to Grasmere) linked on to little ones! But it is by the quaint connection of them in the account book that we learn so much.

The accounts kept by Mr. Robert Brathwaite for his brother's executors are wanting in the fulness of the Rydal book, though these yield a few further items of interest for Ambleside. The first item runs:—

	lb	s	d
payed to seuerall messengers were sent for buying things to the fuenerall and inuiting to yt ...	0	4	9
payed for looking to the yeates	0	0	6
payed the Ringers at Amblesid Chappell	0	2	0

After other items connected with the will:—

I did Giue to the new year lads at Ambleside ...	0	0	4
payed for giting sayle noats published	0	2	10
payed Ro: feild Cryer for 3 days	0	8	0
January the 8th payed to John Kelsicke in full from the 24th of October last as by Acquitance ...	0	9	6
payed lanty fleming for deuiding the Clothes ...	0	0	6

It was the honest Rydal tailor to whom this nice office was entrusted.

payed Rowd Towneson Cryer in full	0	17	6
Feb. 2. 74 payed John Kelsick as by Acquitance in full with 4d then sent for brande	4	0	4

This large item may have stood for food at the funeral feast.

Item for three Cakes in hawkeshead	0	0	4

which shows the town was already celebrated for its cakes.

second of Feb: 74 payed for brandy to James Dixon	0	0	6
payed sister Sandys she had upon p'ouiding all things	0	11	5
21st of Decemr 75 payed George Mackereth of Cassay as it maye apeare by Acquite	1	12	0

This heavy item is to the innkeeper, and further down we read :—

spynt upon bargoning the woole at George Mackereth of Caussas with Ather newby 1lb & toane half I payed ... ... 0 . 10 . 0

What an amount of chaffering at the inn this sum must represent before the Ambleside Hall wool was sold !

payed Mr patter the Remainder of 3lb 10s for wine for My brother funerall as by Acquitance in full ... 0 . 10 . 0

Was this Potter the publican of Kendal, whose wife made char pies ? Further expenses show that the Commission appointed to settle disputes arising from the will sat at Lanty Benson's, the sadler.

Finally we have :—

2nd of february 78 Allow Mr fleming of Rydale as by his owne noat onwards legacy forgiuen by my brother ... ... 6 . 1 . 3

The legacy had run, " Item I give unto my worthy cousin Mrs Barbara Fleming of Rydall £10 to bestow if she please in plate," and the Rydal squire noted in his account book the £6 1s. 3d. received " in part " of the legacy to his late wife. As this was the exact sum that the goods he bought at the sale amounted to, no money was exchanged.

Among the receipts of the executors we find :—

Receiued of John kelsick for a silver spoon ... 0 . 4 . 0
Receiued of Cosan parson wilson (of Windermere) for playt, he had ... ... 0 . 9 . 8
Receiued of parson wilson for the leser boat ... 1 . 18 . 0
Receiued of Mr Sadaler (the schoolmaster) of hawkeshead for bookes ... ... 3 . 19 . 0

From the Rydal account book we learn something of

the fairs, to which the squire and later his sons resorted for pastime and purchases.

June 10. 1674. Spent at Ambleside Fair with Mr Stanford &c ... ... 00 . 06 . 00

Trade in cattle was done.

May 26. 1675. At Amb. Fair for 2 Runts for beef ... 5 . 14 . 02

There is an old man still alive in Ambleside who remembers the old order of the fairs, when the cattle stood in the streets as they do in Ireland to this day; when there were still stalls for clothiers, sweets, and eatables; sellers of ballads and pedlars of all kinds assembled. The humours of the fair, the practical joke paid by James Backhouse, the auctioneer, on the "I-talian" who sold looking-glasses, are told too.

But the wool market was already a thing of the past. It was closed about 1825, and Green tells of the cessation of its cheerful bell that had been wont to announce the opening of business. With Kendal's loss of her woollen trade, with the introduction of machinery, which destroyed the home manufactures of spinning and weaving and stopped the fulling mills, the little town on the Stock had suffered grievously. While growing distress prevailed over the district in the last years of the eighteenth century, it shrank visibly. Green hastened to draw some of the older houses becoming dilapidated in his time, and many of them had been already cleared away.

. . . . .

The tide of prosperity has set again into Ambleside, and its builders are busy. But it is no longer the place of mills and of cloth workers, but the little centre for the moneyed classes who have flocked from all parts to the beautiful mountain scenery that surrounds it. It is now the place of tourists, and the individuality of its past is lost.

APPENDIX I.

THE MILL DEED (PP. 20-21).

Know all men by these p^{re}sents that wee Willm Jackson of Loughrigg in the county of Westmo^{r}land husbandman and Elizabeth Jackson of the same county Widdowe & Mother of the said Willm For and in consideration that Gawen Brathwaite of Ambleside in the county aforesaid esq. hath p^{ro}missed that wee the said Willm & Elizabeth Jackson our heires and ass^{ns} shall from time to time and all times hereafter haue our and euery of ou^{r} corne and Graine ground at the milne of the said Gawen Brathwaite standing at the stockbridge in Ambleside aforesaid as alsoe that hee the said Gawen Brathwaite will pay to the Prince his assig^{s} or to the Grave that gathers the same, the yearely rent of iiijd. ob. milne rent now belonging to the tenam^{t} of us the said Willm and Elizabeth Jackson and paid forth of the same for the Old milne in Ambleside standing upon Sleddall becke. Now know ye that wee the said Willm & Eliz: Jackson for the considerac'on aforesaid haue giuen granted aliened bargained and sould assigned passed ou^{er} and confirmed, and doe by these presents for us ou^{r} heires ex^{ors} administ^{rs} & Asig^{s} & eue^{r}y of us giue Grant Alien Bargaine sell assigne pass oue^{r} & confirme. And alsoe remise release & confirme unto the foresaid Gawen Brathwaite his heirres & ass^{s} for eue^{r} All ou^{r} & either of ou^{r} estate tytle interest Tenantright and Customary estate in the watercorne Milnes in Ambleside aforesaid both old and new and either of them standing upon Sleddallbecke & Stockgill aforesaid And in all p'fitts moulters waters & water courses with all benefitts p'fitts app^{r}tennces to the said water corne Milnes and either of them belonging or in any wise app'taining To have and to hold the said water corne Milnes both old and new and either of them wth all their app'tennces Unto the said Gawen Brathwaite his heires & ass^{s} according to custome lately confirmed unde^{r} the great Seale of England for eue^{r} yealding and paying to the Prince his highness his heires & successors the forsaid yearly rent of iiijd. ob and doing such other dewties as belongs thereto. And wee the said Willm & Eliz: Jackson doe hereby further p'mise & couenut to & wth the said Gawen Brathwaite his heires & ass^{s} that wee the said Willm

Jackson & Eliz: Jackson ou[r] heires & ass[s] shall & will from time to time and at all times hereafter w[th]in the space of seauen years next make and seale such further estate & securtie of the Tenantright & Customarie estate of the p'mises as the said Gawen Brathwaite his heires & ass[s] shall reasonably demand And that he the said Gawen Brathwaite his heires & ass[s] shall and may peacably and quietly have hold occupie and Enjoy the aforesaid Milnes & p'mises w[th] th'app[r]tennces according to the Custome for euer without the stopp, let, sute, hinderance or trouble of us the foresaid Will[m] Jackson & Elizabeth Jackson or either of us ou[r] heires ex[rs] Adm[in]trato[rs] or ass[s] or any of us or any p'son or p'sons clayming the same by from or under us or anie of us.

In witnesse whereof wee the said Will[m] Jackson & Elizabeth Jackson have here unto sett our hands and seales the sixt day of May in the fifteenth yeare of the Raigne of ou[r] Most Gracious soueraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God king of England Scotland France & Ireland defender of the faith &c. Anno Dom[i] 1639

William Jackson mark x O
Elizab[h]

Sealed and deliuered in
the p'sen[ts] of us
John Horne
Ralph Robinson
Tho. Mason

APPENDIX II.

(a) GAWEN BRATHWAITE'S INVENTORY, 1653 (P. 29).

[Mr. G. Browne's MSS., vol viii. The inventory up to "In the Studie" is copied from a fragment which may be older than the complete one bound in Mr. Browne's volume. Where the two materially differ, the alternate version is inserted in brackets.]

The Inventere of the goods and Chattells of Gawen Brathwaitt of Amblesid Esqr latt deceased apprized by George Brown Thomas Mackerith Gawen Mackerith and Chris: Willson the xiiij[th] of March Anno Dom 1653

IN THE PARLOUR

	li	s	d
Imp[r] Three Tables one of them a drawer att booth endes ..	01	00	00
It fower wooden Chaires	00	16	00
It fiue letheren Chaires	00	15	00

	li	s	d
It two little greane stolles	00	01	00
It Quishions xi of wh one is haire	00	11	00
It two Buffett Stooles	00	01	00
It three Carpett cloothes	00	01	06
It one greane Carppatt clooth	00	16	00
It two window curtians and roods of Ieron	00	01	00
It a Boxe wth drawers in it for antiqities	00	01	00
It a Cabinatt for hott watteres	00	2	00
It a paire of Standage [Standishes in later copy.]	00	00	06
It two paire of table Bordes	00	01	00
It a darke Lantherne	00	00	10
It a stone Bowe and a crostbow [A greate old crosbowe.] ..	00	03	4
It a paire of tongues, showel and a pore	00	01	06

IN THE NEW CHAMBER

Imp^r^ two stooles	00	01	00
It a letheren Chaire	00	01	06
It two Trunkes	00	06	00
It a fether Beed boalster two pillows a p' of Blankettes and greane Rugge	01	13	04
It a square table [a Rounder*] wth two greane cloothes ..	00	16	00
It sixe sett quishans	00	09	00
It a p' of Brand Ierons † a Showell and a p' of tongues	00	01	06
It two windowe Curtians	00	02	09

IN THE LITTLE CHAMBER

Imps. one Beedstokes	00	10	00
It a fetherbeed a boalster a p' of Blanketts a Rugge Curtians and Vallance	01	10	00
It two quishons	00	04	00
It two Chaires	00	06	00
It a wainescott chest a rounder* and a cloth upon it	00	07	00
It a paire of tongues	00	00	06
It the latt maisteres Apparell in generall	26	13	4
It sheetes Tableclothes & nappkins Toweles & Cubertt clothes ..	06	13	04
It in platte	40	00	00

IN THE STUDIE

Imp^r^ a Chaire and a Table	00	03	04

IN THE CHAMB^R^ OUR THE LITTLE CHAMB^R^

Imp^r^ a Feather bed a Boulster a p of Blancketts a Covercloath a Rugge and a pillow	01	00	00
It a litle Stoole	00	00	06
It a p' of Curtains	00	01	06

* "Rounder," qy. roundel; *i.e.*, anything round, as a trencher. "A roundell to set dishes on from soiling the table-cloth," Baret, 1580 (Halliwell). The rounder in the little chamber seems to be a small round table.

† "Brand-irons," rests for logs of wood on the hearth.

At the head of the Staires

	li	s	d
Impr two Bedsteades in the topp lofte & one att the head of the Staires	00	04	06
It a wainscott Chest	00	06	00

In the Buttrie Chambr

Impr One Trunell bed*	00	01	06
It two Feather bedds, two Blancketts two Ruggs, one Boulster, and in the litle bed a Feather bed, and a boulster, two blancketts a Covercloath & a wrought Happin†	01	10	00
It a Chaire a Cupboard and Couringe for it a pr of tonges & a showell	00	07	00
It a window Curtain & and Iron Rodd..	00	00	06
It a wrought Quishion with silke and silver or golde	00	01	06

In the Nearer out Lofte

Impr One Bedstead and trunnell Bedd	00	15	00
It a Feather bedd a Boulster one Courcloth a Rugge, Curtaines & valews	01	06	08
It in the litle bedd, a feather bedd, two Courclothes and one Boulster	00	13	04
It two Trunkes, one Counter‡ a chaire, a pe of Brand Irons and a pe of Tonges	00	12	00

In the Farre Roome

Impr One Trunnell bed	00	01	06
It a feather bedd a boulster a pe of Blancketts and two Covercloathes	00	06	08
It two Formes & a greate chest	00	05	00
It a greate Curtaine & some green silk vallews..	00	06	00
It a Sayle for a boate	00	00	06

In the Nurserie

Impr a Bedstead and a Trunnell Bedd	00	04	00
It a feather bedd a boulster a pe of Blancketts & two Couercloathes	00	10	00
It in the litle bedd a chaff bedd a boulster & two Courcloathes ..	00	03	00
It two Chestes	00	06	00
It a white Happin last made and some yarne	00	14	00
It a girdle,§ brandreth, spitte, brand Iron, a still, a weigh-baulks scales and weights	00	13	90

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* A small bed that will roll or trundle under another. Beds seem to have been stowed everywhere, as is shown by the previous entries.

† Happin, a coverlet.

‡ Counter, though said to be a table for counting money upon, seems here to mean only a table—perhaps of long shape like the shopman's counter. The secret drawer in one counter contained money (see page 31).

§ "Girdle," plate for baking oat-cakes; "brandreth," the tripod to support the girdle; "still," a vessel for distillation; "weigh-baulk," the beam of scales.

	li	s	d
In the Inner back Chamb^r			
Imp^r three bedsteads, four bedd posts, two in the topp Loft & two in the back chamb^r	00	02	00
It a Chaffe bedd a ffeather boulster two cou^rcloathes and a fforme	00	05	00
In the Wainscott Chamb^r *			
Imp^r One Bedstead & a Trunnell bedd	01	00	00
It a ffeather-bedd a boul^s^r two pillowes a p^e of Blancketts a Rugge with Curtaines & vallews in the greate Bedd, & in the litle Bedd, a ffeather-bed, a boulster, a p^e of Blanketts a Coverinye, and a Covercloath	02	13	04
It three yellow Curtaines	00	10	00
It Window Curtaines two rodds of Iron the square table and the Coverings	00	01	00
It a Leatheren chaire a painted chaire two buffets stooles a p^r of tonges & a shouell	00	07	00
In the Inn^r Room next to the Wainscott Chamb^r			
Imp^r One Bedstead	00	03	00
It a ffeatherbed a boulster a Covercloath a Rugge a p^r of Blanc-ketts & Curtaines	01	06	08
It a Litle Table with a Coveringe one stoole & a Quishion ..	00	03	00
In the Chamb^r our the Buttery Lofte			
Imp^r One Bedsteade	00	01	06
It a ffeatherbed a boulster a p' of Blanketts and a Covercloath ..	00	13	04
It two Trunkes and one chaire	00	07	00
In the Farr Pantrie			
Imp^r two chestes and one table	00	07	00
It in the Nearer Pantry a litle square table & a forme	00	02	00
It in Pewther there	01	00	00
In the Kitchen			
Imp^r potts Panns one Porring^er one chafindish two scumm^ers a skellet† and a Grater	01	13	00
It Drippinge Panns speetes rackes a brand Iron a p' of tonges & an Iron Peele‡	01	11	00
It two Brasse Morters, two Pestelles, three recken-crookes a cockle pann a Cressett & an Iron before the fire	00	13	00
It one chaire in the kithen	00	02	06

* The wainscott chamber, with its yellow curtains and window curtains, leather chair and painted chair, was clearly a room of state.

† "Scummer," fire-shovel; "skellet," long-handled pan.

‡ "Peel," baker's shovel; "rackon-crook," an adjustible hook hanging from the chimney to hold pots over the fire; "cockle-pan," to boil cockles, frequently mentioned in Sir Daniel Fleming's account book, and apparently brought from Morecambe Bay; "cresset," an open lamp.

In the Brewhouse

	li	s	d
Imp^{r} a Mashfatt* a cowler & a Guilfatt†	01	00	00
It vij barrells & two Hoggesheads	00	16	06
It a litle knoppe‡ with other wooden vessel with a litle stoole ..	00	06	08
It a thinn plate of Iron a Peele & two old peeces of Iron ..	00	03	00
It wooden vessell in the farr topp Lofte	00	05	00
It two old Trunkes in thother topp Lofte	00	02	00
It tallow in the farr Larder-house	00	05	00
It a sowce-tubb§ a fleshfatt wth other wooden vessell in the said Larder-house	00	06	00

In the Nearer Larder-house

Imp^{r} two ffleshtubbs, an old Cupboard	00	10	00
It in the Milkhouse, Gallews,‖ Bowles, Cheesefatte and other wooden vessels	00	10	00
It Tanned Leather	02	10	00
It woole about ffourescore stone vj^{s} viij^{d} a stone & the skinnes in att all	26	13	04
It three Tables with fframes alsoe fformes two chaires Buffetts & loose wainscott in the Hall	02	00	00
It Malt in the kitchen Lofte forty-five bushelles or thereabouts ..	06	00	00
It Oaten Meale six bushells or thereabouts	01	00	00
It Chests Arkes Barrells tubbs and other bursten vessell in the said Lofte	03	03	00
It in the Garner & Corne barne ffiftye-nine bushells of Malt, castinge seaven bushells of the bad Malt in att all	07	00	00
It in the Garner forty fiue bushells of Oates	03	07	06
It in the Garner viij^{t} bushells of Bigge at 2^{s} 8^{d} the bushell, & all the Bigge in the Barne att the same price unthresh^{d} being as is supposed about 60^{tie} bushells	08	00	00
It all the unthreshed Oates in the barne being as is supposed aboute 75 bushells in all	05	12	06
It Hay in the New barne the Low Barne in the Rigge-hogg-house, the Barne in the Borwaines, Barkasike Barne, and att the Gayle	12	00	00
It nine threaue¶ of wheate att xvj^{d} the peck	00	12	00
It the Arke in the new Barne	01	00	00
It Eight Hiues of Bees	02	00	00
It a Chest in the old Malt-house lofte with some hauer malt in pt	00	10	00

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* "Mash-vat," for brewing; "cooler," a large open tub.

† "Guile-vat," a wort tub.

‡ "Knop," a tub.

§ "Souse tub," to hold brine or sour whey for pickling.

‖ "Gallases," suspenders.

¶ "Threave," or thrave: twenty-four sheaves of corn; a stook of corn, or twelve battens of straw; a batten, two sheaves of straw. The stook was also called *kattock* in these parts.

	li	s	d
It Ploughs, Harrowes, hotts,* Crookes a sledd a p^{e} of Cowpe wheeles and some Cowp-woode with other odd peeces of woode	01	00	00
It five packe sadles with garthes Wantoos† and halters.. ..	00	12	00
It fiue swyne togeth^{r} with geese & oth' poultry	01	13	04

IN THE GATEHOUSE LOFTE

Imp^{r} three Gauelockes‡	00	09	00
It Mells,§ Wedges	00	06	08
It two dogg-teams two shackles|| a Mattocke a hack, iiij^{r} sickles & two Bry^{er} crookes	00	03	08
It Hames¶ and traces ropes and other implem^{ts}	00	08	00
It Hempseed**	00	01	00
It Eightscore Loade of Peate	01	06	00
It one Plough & Plough-geare, foure teames, foure yokes, a foote-teame & a horse-teame	00	16	00

ATT THE RIGGE-HOGGE-HOUSE††

Imp^{r} Weather sheepe threescore & tenn at fiue shillinges a pece	17	10	00
It Ewes fiuescore & tenn	27	10	00
It Twinters threescore & Eighteen at iij^{s} x^{d} a piece	15	07	00
It Hoggs ffouer score & nineteen att iij^{s} x^{d} a peice	18	19	06

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* "Hott," a basket or panier for carrying manure.

† "Wanty," a strap of leather used for binding a load upon the back of a beast (Webster). "Wanto-bottoms" appear several times in Sir Daniel Fleming's account book, and were 4d. apiece.

‡ "Gavelock," an iron crowbar or lever.

§ "Mell," a great hammer.

|| "Shackles," cow-chains.

¶ "Hames," pieces of wood on the collar of the horse to which the traces are fixed (Hall.).

** "Hempseed." This, no doubt, represents the winter store of seed for sowing the little plot of hemp customary on every holding, which supplied the household with linen. The store of peat is large, as the winter was almost over.

†† Sheep, with their wool, were the main source of wealth to the statesman. As it was the law of the district that no more should be put on the common in summer than could be fed through the winter, the greatest economy of fodder prevailed to make it feed the greatest possible number of animals throughout the winter. Various auxiliaries to hay were used, such as ash leaves, pease straw, and even corn straw. West, so recently as 1774, mentions the use of holly leaves; and Mr. H. S. Cowper tells me that "in a copy of West, annotated by T. A. Beck, author of *Annales Furnesienses*, there is a marginal note that within his (Beck's) memory sheep were so browsed at Heald Brow, Coniston (but that the hollies had been since all destroyed), and also at Stott Park." In the winter the hoggs, and perhaps the twinters (sheep of the first and second years), were housed in the hog house that stood on every holding, a detached building often placed at a distance from the homestead. Here they fed on hay, &c., placed in racks all round, and never went out except to water at the adjacent beck. The hog houses, after standing useless for a long time, are being fast cleared away. The prices shown in the inventory are valuable—5s. a piece for wethers, tupps, and ewes; 3s. 10d. each or £3 16s. 8d. a score for twinters and hoggs. It should be noticed that the High House and Pull Beck prices are less than the Ambleside and Baisbrown ones.

Att Ambleside

	li	s	d
Impr xxjo Kyne and a Bull	55	00	00
It fiue Spayinnge Calues att xs a peice of a fortnight old ..	02	10	00
It a stoned Horse	10	00	00
It the yonge gray nagge	03	00	00
It the yonge gray Mare	03	00	00
It the old gray Mare	03	00	00
It the litle gray Mare	03	00	00
It the old gray geldinge	02	00	00
It the black Galloway	01	00	00
It the litle white galloway	01	00	00
It the litle bay Mare att the Rigge together with the ffoale ..	03	00	00

Att Baisbrowne

Impr four Kyne att one pounde sixteen shillinges eight pence apeece	07	06	08
It viijo Oxen at three pounds a beast	24	00	00
It ten Heiffers att the new barne	20	00	00
It Nine other yonge beasts att the same Barne att ojli 13s 04d a peice	15	00	00
It three Heiffers att the house att one pound ten shillings a beast	04	10	00
It xiijo yonge beasts att the house att ojli 06s 08d a beast ..	17	16	08
It nine stirkes att the house att xvjs a beast	07	04	00
It One Calfe newly weaned	00	06	08
It One bay horse of three yeares old	03	00	00
It One gray mare of the same age	03	10	00
It one black horse att the same age	02	10	00
It one Colte of two yeares old	02	00	00
It one Mare & a ffoale	04	00	00
Sheepe Eightscore & thirteen			
Impr Weathers and tupps xxtle at 5s a peece	05	00	00
It Ewes 73 att 5s a peece..	18	05	00
It twinters 40 att 03li 16s 08d a score	07	13	04
It Hoggs 40 att 03li 16s 08d a score	07	13	04
It Hay fforty Trusse	01	10	00
It xij bushells of Bigge or thereabouts at ijs vjd the bushell ..	01	10	00
It Oates xxxiiij bushells or thereabouts att js iiijd the bushell ..	02	05	00
It two bedsteades	00	01	00
It two old Arkes one chaire one stande and an old spininge wheele	00	02	00
It One gauelocke one twigge* of Iron two Lymestons, Hammers three spades one hack, two Axes, two Iron wedges two wimbles & One Iron shackle	00	08	00
It One plough & plough-geare, foure teames, foure yokes, a foote-teame and a horse teame	00	16	00
It Nine ropes	00	02	00
It Oxen ffetters att	00	01	00
It two Arkes in the new barne	00	05	00
It One Hiue of Bees att	00	05	00

* "Twig," qy. pincers; "lymestone," qy. whetstone; "wimbles," augers.

PULL-BECKE

	li	s	d
Imp^{r} foure Kyne att 01^{li} 16^{s} 08^{d} a beast	07	06	08
It vj Steares att one pound ten shillings a beast	09	00	00
It foure Heiffers	04	00	00
It viij^{o} calues at viij^{o} Markes	05	06	08
It a ffatt Stott	02	00	00
It two Bulls	02	00	00
It xvj^{o} Ewes att iiij^{s} vj^{d} a peice	03	12	00
It three weathers at iiij^{s} vi a peice	00	13	06
It One Tuppe	00	04	06
It Hoggs xxiiij^{o} att iij^{s} x^{d} a peice	04	08	00
It Bigge being Eight bushells att two shillings six pence a bushell	01	00	00
It Oates, ffiftie foure bushells att one shillinge four pence a bushell	03	12	00
It Hay xxiiij^{o} Trusse..	00	18	00

ATT BRATHEY

Imp^{r} viij^{o} bushells of Oates att j^{s} iiij^{d} the Bushell	00	10	00
It Hay ten Trusse	00	01	06
It Cowp woode	00	06	08

ATT THE HIGH-HOUSE

Imp^{r} Eight Oxen att vj^{li} iij^{s} iiij^{d} a paire	24	13	04
It two kine	05	00	00
It three kine att 01^{li} 18^{s} a peece	05	14	00
It one Bull	02	10	00
It weathers xxxvj^{o} att iiij^{li} x^{s} a score	08	02	00
It Ewes forty three att iiij^{li} x^{s} a score	09	13	00
It Twinters xxxiiij att 03^{li} 13^{s} 04^{d} a score	06	04	06
It Hoggs twenty-nine att 03^{li} 13^{s} 04^{d} a score	05	06	06
Moneyes lyinge with Hugh Jackson of Nookend	21	00	00
The Sum'e Total is	662	13	02

[At the back.]

These Goods & Chattells within menc'oned were apprized the day and yeare within written by us whose names are here under written
vizt. George Browne Thomas Mackereth
Gawin Mackereth
chr. Willson

(b) THOMAS BRATHWAITE'S INVENTORY, 1674.

[The inventory of Thomas Brathwaite is not so valuable as the preceding, because of its want of detail. The price of cattle seems

to have risen in the forty-one years. Kine are valued from £1 16s. 8d. to £2 10s. in 1633, and at £3 2s. 6d. in 1674. The plough oxen are put down at £3 in 1633; in 1674, a fat ox at £5 15s. The three pairs of young oxen or steers, however, that presumably completed the plough team, are only valued at £10 10. From the tables in the hall, it is clear that the household still dined all together there.]

A true and perfect Inventory of ye Goods and Chattells Cattells & Credits moueable & imoueable wh did belong unto Thomas Brathwaite, of Ambleside in ye County of Westmerl^d^ Esqre Late deceased viewed & Apprized the 17th & 18th day of December 1674 by George Browne John Rawlison Reginald Brathwaite & John Newton.

	li	s	d
Imprim^s^ all his apparell	20	00	00
Item fower oxen & three stears at Borwens	21	10	00
Item fiue heiffers & one bull Calfe	10	00	00
It three Calves	02	08	00
It one black Mare & one Gelding	06	13	04
It hay	03	00	00
It thirty fiue boards	00	07	06
It thre Kine at Low Wreay	08	00	00
One Gray Mare & two fillies	08	00	00
Twenty Sheepe	03	13	04
It bigg	03	06	08
It Hay	01	10	00
It two fatt Oxen at Pulbeck	11	10	00
It thre paire of Steares	10	10	00
It Eleuen heifers & one Steare	16	05	00
It Oates twenty Stookes	00	10	00
It hay	03	06	08
Yeates	00	02	00
It hay at Rigg hogg house	01	10	00
It forty Stookes of faulty bigg..	00	10	00
It thirty fower Loose boards	00	09	06
It one filly	01	10	00
It hay at Sweden hogg house	00	10	00
It hay at Low barne	03	00	00
It twelve Stookes of Bigg	00	04	00
It brackens	00	03	04
It twelve Kine	37	10	00
It eight ash planks att fforest barn	00	06	8
It Hay att Cowehouse	00	06	0
It Bigge in ye Corne barne att Home	03	04	0
It Oates there	03	06	8
It Hay in the Hay Barne	04	00	0
It Thirty nine boardes	01	00	0
It Two greate Garners	01	15	0
It ffoure teames & one doge teame	00	09	0
It Two Weyboakes Scales and weights	00	10	0
It eight yoakes & a iron harrow	00	06	8

	li	s	d
It 7 Plowes & Plow irons	00	03	4
It a Maule 3 axes 2 hacks & a gauelocke	00	05	0
It eight p' of roopes heim's & traces	00	08	0
It Windows planks &c in ye workehouse	00	05	0
It Corne & one Chest in ye Gardner	00	13	4
It Iron Geare & old Millstonnes	01	03	0
It one gray Geldinge	08	00	0
It three Geldings & one Galloway	11	00	0
It two horses	02	00	0
the Sadles & Bridles	00	10	0
It all the Pewther	05	00	0
It all the sheepe younge & old	44	00	0
It all the Goods in the Oute Lofte	04	10	0
It all the Goods in the Nursery	00	13	4
It all the Goods in the Backe chamber	00	10	0
It all the Goods in the Milke house	00	08	4
It all ye goods in ye two Larder houses	01	00	0
It all ye Goods in ye buttery Chamb^r^	05	00	0
It all ye Goods in ye Maids Chamb^r^	01	10	0
It all ye Goods in ye pasidge	03	13	4
It all ye Goods in ye Kitchin Loft	01	16	8
It all ye Goods in ye Wainscot Chamb^r^	04	10	0
It all ye Goods in ye Matit Chamb^r^	02	00	0
It all ye Goods in ye new Chamb^r^ & Closset	00	10	0
It all ye Goods in ye Garret	00	02	6
It all the Goods in the toppe lofte	01	00	0
It all the goods in ye two pantheries	00	06	8
It all the goods in ye Clositt	00	05	0
It all the goods in ye Sellar & Buttery	01	00	0
It all ye Wood vessell in the Kitchen	03	01	8
It all ye Brasse there	03	00	0
It all ye Iron instruements there	01	10	0
It Tables & other Goods in the Hall	02	10	0
It an old Clocke	00	15	0
It Tables carpitts & other goods in ye Parlour	02	05	0
It goodes over ye Gate	00	05	0
It in plaite	20	00	0
It All the Woolle	90	00	0
It six Gold rings & braceletts & scutchions	02	00	0
It Hay & 30 boards att Barkecosike	00	14	0
It Maule & Wedges	00	03	0
a Gunne & five Sythes	00	12	6
It two Boates	05	00	0
It fiue Swine	01	10	0
It dunge	00	06	8
Sum'a bonoru'	426	19	6
Sum'a bonoru' apud Brimham P'ke	198	1	4
Sum'a totali^s^	625	00	10

Debts due to the p'te deceased vizt.	li	s	d
Itim in Gold & money in his house at Ambleside halle ..	.. 102	. 00	. 00
Itim in Bondes	.. 300	. 00	. 00
Itim in other small debtes	.. 014	. 00	. 00
Sum'a debet	416	. 00	. 00
Sum'a totalis	1041	. 00	. 10

APPENDIX III.

SIR W. FLEMING'S LETTERS ON THE BOAT RIGHT (PP. 34-35).

To Thomas Dummer Esq
at his house in Great Queen Street
London Sep. 13, 1726.

Sr

I should not give you the trouble of a Letter but for my wishes to have a privilege preserved belonging to the Owner of Ambleside hall of keeping Boats upon Windermer Water for the good of the Owner and Neighbourhood in danger now of being lost by Non Usage for a considerable Number of Years, and other designes now on foot.

Hearing many complaints against a Man that but a few years since purchased the ferry passage cross Windermer Water near the Middle of it, and Ferry Boats thereunto belonging for raiseing the Antient Rates for Passengers, and for carrying goods up and down the said Water in the ferry Boat, to of late near double; And that he was labouring to Ingross to himselfe the sole prevaledge of carrying Goods upon the said Water to advance the price of it as much as he pleased. And hearing by Accident the 9. of May last that he had influenced Mr Chambre (Stuard of the Ld Lonsdales Courts) to order by a (*illegible*) not to be presindented Warrent A Number of Customary Tenants to be summond to meet him the rent day at the Instance of the said Boatman to be impaneled as a Jury, tho they were but Generally Summoned the day before.

I concluded that by such short notice and unusuall procedings somthing Extrordinary designed to be got don towarde assisting the said Boatman in his ingrossing Designe to the great damage of the Country: therefore I incouraged a sensible man to goe the next day to the designed Court, and caution som of the Jury to consider the ill consequence of the designe to the Country, to demur to giving a

hasty Verdict and press for time to hear Evidence on booth sides and to consider of a Verdict, Which they did and got the Court adjourned to the 17 of June.

And then haveing Cause to know that Thomas Brathwaite of Ambleside, Esq. who dyed about 40 years since (under whom the Lady Otwey (his Neece) had her Tytle) did keep two Boats upon Windermer water that is a Large one for heavy Carryages and a less one for pleasure, as it was Generally allowed his Father had don before him: I wished Your Farmer an honest Sensible Man to give you notice, And I then sent for som of the oldest Neighbours I could think of to Inquire what they could remember of the matter. One said he was at the Lanching of Mr Brathwait's Last build Boat, and remembered severall perticulers relating thereto. A Second said he had gon often over the said Water to the Pull with Mr Brathwates servants. And the Third (a turner by trade) said he had often Borrowed of Mr Brathwaite his boat and brought Wood from severall places up the said Water for the Use of his Trade. And I looke up[on] the last to be the most Materall Evidence: I wished them all three to goe to the adjournment of the Court the 17 of June, and I wished your Farmer to Carry these 3 old men, and told him If you were unwill[ing] to allow the Charge I would doe it rather then not have outlay to such a privilege kept on foot at this time for the good of the Contry.

Your Farmer shewed me your Letter to the Jury but before it came, upon som applycation made to the Ld Lonsdale the meeting of the Jury was directed to be put off to a longer Day and Whether he will suffer it to meet again I something Query.

But I conclude if the privalidge be not Claimed Effectually before the Old Men before pointed at dye more perticulerly by the last, it will be in danger to be intirely lost, tho it is said there is a Mill-Stone in Ambleside brought up in the Lady Otwey's time. If you could Ether set it, or Sell it, to one that would be at the Charge of Building a new Boat and Stand a dispute if it happened about the privelidge It might be a virtew to the Neighbourhood at this time, but where to find a Right Customer for ether I will know not: I was telling Mr Cumstone of Ambleside of bying it, but whether he would ingage in such a Matter I am somthing doubtfull because of the prospect of Charge: tho I understand you have 20 Charrs or 5 shilling paid you yearly by som of the fishers as an Acknowledgement of som Right, tho what is not now well known.

. . . . . .

Sr

Your humble servant

W. F.

In a letter, dated December 22nd, 1726, Sir William further writes:—

"You mentioned your unwillingness to lose the privalidge of keeping two Boats upon Windermer Water. But to my concerne for the good of the Country I now look upon that privilige likely to be lost to yourselfe or the purchasers of what you have to sell at Ambleside; Because of the long nonusage but more because of your haveing Sold all your Land at Ambleside adjoyneing to or Bordering upon Windermer Water (Which I did not know when I writ before) without reserveing a Way to that Water or to or for Landing a boat or Boats, And in truth the best land you had at Ambleside was where the Boats had been usually kept. . . . . "

Sir William eventually, however, bought not only the privilege of the boats, with the char-fish and the pews in the chapel he desired, but probably, though no absolute proof is forthcoming, some of the cottages that had been part of the property.

APPENDIX IV.

THE CHAPEL DEED (P. 39).

[MS. at Rydal Hall, written on paper, at the back of an old agreement between William Mackereth and his son Nicholas. The figures prefixed to the names are for convenience of reference in the following notes on old Ambleside families.]

A note taken what everie Tenante put in for his pledge for the yearlie paiement of Curat wagies 1597

(1) Mr Brathwat xliiij^s^ ij^d^ more xvj^d^ pledge the Borrance
(2) Robert Brathwat xij^s^ pledge a close at howe-agrettes & twoe p[ar]cells of grounde upon Seathat
(3) Edwin Jackson viij^s^ viij^d^ pledge bradehowes
(4) George Jackson x^s^ pledge Jopson close
(5) Willm P[ar]trige above stocke xij^d^ pledge parke at brade-myre
(6) Robert Newton of hill viij^d^ pledge half a rude at old holmes
(7) Bryan Brathwat ij^s^ viij^d^ pledge a litle close above chappell
(8) Willm Mackereth of casey viij^d^ pledge a rude at white flate
(9) Thomas Ellis xx^d^ pledge half an acre at watles Rigge
(10) Richard Newton viij^d^ pledge halfe a rude at high Seatwhat
(11) John Forrest vij^d^ pledge a Rude at highe of Seathat

(12) George Mackereth viij^{d} pledge a . . . . . .
(13) Robert Newton de greene vij^{d} pledge a rude at reedhowe
(14) David Eraye ij^{s} pledge a rude at swedle buske
(15) Wiffe of Richard Forrest viij^{d} pledge a rude at Killhowe
(16) John Ellis xvj^{d} pledge Mradmyre
(17) Christofer Newton xvj^{d} pledge brode myre
(18) Willm P[ar]trige iij^{s} iiij^{d} pledge half a acree at longdale
(19) Richard Ellis ij^{s} pledge Brodemyre
(20) Thomas P[ar]trige iii^{s} iiij^{d} pledge hugh akes
(21) Robert P[ar]trig iiij^{d}
(22) Willm Mackereth iiij^{d} pledg a rude at cotehowe
(23) Thomas Brathwat sone of mathewe xij^{d} pledge a rude at rigge
(24) wiffe of John Atkinson iiij^{d} pledge a rude of land at bradehowe
(25) Christofer Atkinson iiij^{d} pledge half a acree at howes
(26) George Jackson elder and Robert his sone xii^{d} pledge a rude of mosse above white plate
(27) Henry Mackereth x^{d} pledge chermyre
(28) Robert Mackereth of crabtree viij^{d} pledge a rude of ground at cotehowe.
(29) Robert Ellis iiij^{d} pledge a rude of meadowe over the dike at brade Inge
(30) Willm Fisher yong^{r} iiij^{d} pledge halfe a rude at molding forde
(31) Rannold Mackereth iiij^{d} pledge a rude at fisher Inge
(32) Christofer Fisher viij^{d} pledge a rude at Birdas
(33) Robert P[ar]trige viij^{d} pledge a rude of ground lying at dykes
(34) Thomas Jackson of watterhead xx^{d} pledge a rude upon the langdales
(35) Thomas Mackereth iiij^{d} pledge a rude of meadowe at Bullwhaie
(36) Willm Fisher elder iiij^{d} pledge a rude of ground at gowsehowe
(37) Edward Forrest viij^{d} pledge a close above grove
(38) Henry Jackson viij^{d} pledge half a rude at sascalehowe
(39) Robert Newton of noke viij^{d} pledge half a rude at bradgate
(40) Rowlland P[ar]trige viij^{d} pledge a rude at horsebrige
(41) Thomas Brathwat vj^{d} pledge a rude of ground in Bowthwaite
(42) Barnard Brathwat xii^{d} pledge half an acree above grove
(43) Edwine Jackson of Clapp'sgate v^{s} iiij^{d} pledge hudestcroft
(44) Bryam Mackereth iij^{s} iiij^{d} pledge a Rude of meadowe at crag inge
(45) More Edwine Jackson xxviij^{d}
(46) George Mackereth iiij^{d} pledge a rude at Drumble myre

Nycholus Mackereth ij^{s} x^{d}
Anthonye Forresti iiij^{d}
John mackereth viij^{d}
wiff of willm Brockebancke iiij^{d}
wiff of Cuthbert Jackson iiij^{d}
Oliver Brathwat iiij^{d}
Milles Barwicke iiij^{d}
John Fisher iiij^{d}
Rannold Fisher iiij^{d}
wiff of Thomas Atkinson iiij^{d}
wiff of James Mackereth iiij^{d}
John Jackson pedler iiij^{d}
Rowland Atkinson, ij
Christopher Jackson viij^{d}
Robert Jackson of Watterhead viij^{d}

(1)—BRATHWAITE OF AMBLESIDE.

The Mr. Braithwaite of 1597 must have been Thomas, whose brother Gawen shortly afterwards succeeded him. The baptism of Robert, son of "Gawen Brathwaite of Ambleside, esquier," is entered in the Grasmere registers for 1612.

The first Ambleside man of the name (hitherto found) was an Edward Brathwayte, who was reeve in 1486, and paid his arrears of 14s. 8½d. eight years after; while a Thomas held a fulling mill in 1494. In the Levens rental (1379-1403) the name does not occur among the tenants of Grasmere, Loughrigg, or Ambleside. In Langdale, however, it appears three times—though in a shortened form, and clearly misunderstood by the copyist. "Wm brathw^{t}" holds with a partner a messuage with appurtenances; a "Jhon de brathw^{t}," a toft; another (or the same) "Jhon," a messuage with appurtenances. The clan throve and spread, and by the close of the seventeenth century its members were numerous all over the countryside. Besides several in Ambleside, there were George and James at High and Low Wray, a Rowland at Pullbeck, a Reginald at Clappersgate, a George "o'th' Bridg-end," who kept the inn on Brathay Bridge often mentioned by Sir Daniel Fleming (there he spent 6d. "in ye contest betwixt Jos. Penny and my Cosin Ambrose," and 1s. on November 18th, 1671, "for troubleing his house in examining of Tho. Lancasters* poysoning of his wife, & 6 others, oo^{li} o1^{s} oo^{d}"), and a Mr. Brathwaite, curate of Grasmere.

In the chapel list ii., Mr. Gawen Brathwaite contributes £2 6s. 6d.; and in list iii., Lady Otway £2 3s. 4d.

A rental of the property (1713-1714) shows among receipts:—

Highborrans & Newlands	5 . 12 . 0
Low Borrans Ley	2 . 10 . 0
Low Borrans Meadow	4 . 10 . 0
ye Waterhead	1 . 12 . 0
Low borrans fogg & Wintergate†	6 . 0

Other outlying pieces belonging to the Ambleside Hall, given in a paper dated 1684, are:—

aboue stock a wood near in roughside
chaple close
high Omes
near High parrocks
far high parrocks
dimidells

* See Mr. H. S. Cowper's *Hawkshead, its History, &c.*, pp. 225, 226.

† Winter pasturage of cattle; fogg is the second crop of hay.

close a steell
high Lane, Newton Lane
Sutle Hows, thrang Head, flesh crage } the grassing at 5s a gate
pinch crags, Scandle } at 4s a gate
tow hors—copys . . . .
Sweeden end
ye rigg & a hoghous
Little feild let to ye miller
old Helms
half a rood dub brow
3 roods at miller bridge steps . . .
tom wife orchard . . . .
46 gates for sheep in scandle 3 cattle gates on Kirkston fell 2s 6d a gate

(2)—BRATHWAITES OF HOW HEAD.

The Robert who stands second in the list was probably a holder of How Head. This picturesque and ancient homestead stands still intact, though portioned off into several dwellings, near the old church, crowning the village. Is it possible that it was the Master Forster Place? Though dilapidated, its old timber in finely panelled doors and winding staircase, cut in solid oaken blocks, its metal-work on door knob, dated 1693, and long hinges, patterned rudely with "herring-bone" lines, are well worth inspection. (The carved cupboard of 1603 must, from its initials, have been placed in the house at a later time.) Already in the seventeenth century it was divided between members or branches of the same family. The John who stands third of the 1620 list, contributing 13s. 4d., was no doubt the successor of Robert; his name stands fourth of the eleven of Ambleside who signed the bond of the second instalment of the township's fine to the Prince in the same year. In 1649, a John "of Howhead" had a child baptized, and so had, in 1651, a Robert "of Howhead." Robert paid a lord's rent of 15s. 10d. on Howhead in 1675, and was buried in 1682. In 1684 a John "of Low howhead" was buried. Chapel List III. (undated) shows that Howhead John gave 11s. 10d., while a widow Brathwaite of the same gave 12s. 0d. —both substantial sums. The remaining Brathwaites of the three lists cannot be identified, but all the land-pledges put in by them appear to be on high ground, adjacent to Stock-beck. *Howe-agrettes* may possibly be a part of the How of the Ordnance Survey, which is behind the Gale and "below" Stock; the rood at *rigge*, pledged by Thomas, son of Matthew (23), is said to be near Sweden How. The Rigge with its hog-house are often mentioned as belonging to the Ambleside Hall Brathwaites, after 1653. In 1707 the wall

between it and Thomas Newton's estate of Brow was repaired. *Seathwaite* is "above" Stock, as, of course, was the close "above chapel" pledged by Bryam (7). *Bowthwaite*, where a rood was pledged by another Thomas (41), is near High Grove below Stock. Barnard puts in half an acre *above Grove*. Mr. W. H. Hills, who has kindly assisted in the derivation of place-names, says "The Grove seems to have extended from Ambleside to the head of the Stock valley. The names of High, Middle, and Low Grove designate three farm-houses within it, two of which have been in ruins for many years. Formerly, and probably down to the time of the enclosure of Wansfell, the inhabitants of Ambleside had the right of cutting fuel wood in the Grove."

(3)—JACKSON.

Johnsons occur in the Levens Rental, but no Jackson. John Jakson was grave in 1493 (S.MS.). Possibly it was he who then held, along with a William Jackson and another man, Master Foster's Place. At the same time a Robert Jackson worked the second fulling mill.

By 1597 there were two very substantial statesmen of the name. The George who contributes 10s. is probably the same who stands second as "Bayliffe" in List II. with 8s. 4d., and who signed the bond second of the eleven. The Subsidy Roll of 1626-7 shows him to be the only inhabitant, besides Mr. G. Brathwaite, rich enough to be taxed in that year. He pays 8s. on property in goods assessed at £3, being doubtless a tradesman.

In List II. a Samuel (possibly Edwin's successor) is fourth, giving 13s. 4d. He died in 1639, and his Inventory, written in the fashion of the time on a narrow strip of parchment, is preserved at Rydal Hall. The Elizabeth, wife of Robert, contributing 1s., is probably she who, with her son, made over their property in the old corn mill to Mr. G. Brathwaite in 1639. Then Robert (who signed the bond ninth) gives 3s., a Hugh and William together 9s., and an Edwin 8d.

List III. shows but one Robert of the name, giving 18s. 6d. In the 1675 Rental a Mrs. Jane pays, besides 5s. for brigg grasses and 8d. for wood rent, a rental of £1 6s. 8d.; Thomas of Whitehaven, 6s. 8d.; another Thomas, 6s. 8d.; and a Hugh, 11s. 2d.

The following is the inventory of Samuel Jackson's estate, 1639:—

Aprilis decimo octauo die 1639

The true and p'fect Inventorie off all the goods and Chattells moueable and Immoueable of Samuel Jackson of Ambleside in the p'rish of Windermere lately deceased, prised by these 4 sworne men Edwin Jackson, Henrie Jackson, Anth. Fisher and Christopher Cowp'thwaite.

Impr his apparell	03 . 06 . 8
It Curtaines and Linnen	02 . 18 . 0
It beddinge and Cushions	04 . 13 . 4
It bedstocks and a Cubbord	02 . 04 . 0
It tables & buffet stoules	02 . 13 . 0
It Chests and Arks	03 . 00 . 0
It three Cubbords	01 . 10 . 0
It three siluer spoones	00 . 08 . 0
It pewther pots and panns gridiron & brand iron	04 . 13 . 4
It wooden Vessell	01 . 03 . 0
It woollen yarne	00 . 12 . 0
It timber, fatts, spars and other implements	03 . 06 . 0
It eight kine & 4 other beasts	28 . 00 . 0
It younge stirks	05 . 00 . 0
It plough & ploughgear and other implements	01 . 00 . 0
It Corne sowne and unsown	09 . 00 . 0
It hay	01 . 00 . 0
It Horse and Mares	06 . 00 . 0
It Meale & Malt	03 . 00 . 0
It Manure	01 . 10 . 0
It biess (?) bacon and poultrie	01 . 00 . 0
It speet racks and iron implements	00 . 06 . 0
It sheep, 257	71 . 08 . 0
It a grind-stone	00 . 01 . 0
It sacks and other things	01 . 06 . 0
It a Bible	00 . 05 . 0
It Saddles & other implements	00 . 08 . 0
Sum' a bonoru'	*l*160 . 02 . 0

Debts due to the partie deceased

Impr by William Sowery	10 . 10 . 0

Debts due by the party deceased

Impr to John Fleming, Esqr	10 . 00 . 0
It to Richard Harrison	02 x 00 . 0
It to Thomas Ayrey	08 . 02 . 0
It to James Dixon of Orrest	06 . 03 . 0
It to John Thompson	04°. 00 . 0
It to Christopher Berket	02°x 10 . 0
It to Elibabeth Bateman	05 . 00 . 0
It to Ann Jackson	02 . 00 . 0
It to Robert Jackson	20°. 00 . 0
It to Elizabeth Robinson de Troutbecke	15 . 00 . 0
It to Jennet Braithwait	07 . 10 . 0
It Dionise Graue	03 . 00 . 0
It to William Brown	00 . 07 . 0
It to Reinald Fisher	00 . 07 . 0
It to Margaret Raisbecke	00 . 04 . 0
It to Gawin Braithwaite Esquire	01 . 05 . 0
It to the Executors of John Braithwait	02 . 10 . 0
(Figures of total crossed out)	
It to Thomas Hutton for a mare	4 x 6 . 8

Several of the Jackson land-pledges stand high and below Stock, to which division Samuel of the Inventory belonged. *Brade* or *Broadhowes* (3) is said to be part of the Grove estate. *Jopson Close* (4) (record of a family who held land by Pelter Bridge in Elizabeth's reign) is near the Hospital, on the right of the lane going up to the Grove. Within recent times it was joined to two other fields called Moss and Rampsgill. The *Langdales* (34), of which Waterhead Thomas pledges a rood, is a name still applied to a field on the Wansfell side of the high road to Waterhead, which may once have been common plough lands. The *Whiteplate* (26), where a rood of moss was pledged by elder George and Robert his son (who signed the bond "ninth") is near St Mary's Church, adjoining Millerfield. White Platt belonged in later times to the Kelsick estate, and in 1800 Miss Pritchard rented it for £12 12s. od. Next it is another field, still *White-flatt* (8). The preservation of the twin names is singular.

In the interesting *Sascalehowe*, where half a rood was pledged by Henry (38), we have a problem. Naturally one supposes it to be the site of the modern Scale How, once Green Bank and the home of the Harrisons. The first letter of the old pledge-paper is distinctly S, and the later copy makes it S also. In the corn mill deed of 1772, however, Towlson is stated to have held two detached parcels of arable land, containing about one acre and half a rood, "situate in that part of Ambleside called Lascalehow," spelt further on Laskal How. Are we to suppose there were two such similar words? The Lasgill flows in a gentle hollow between the fertile mounds crowned by the modern houses Lesketh How and Scale How. It is important to note that the deed, recapitulating, states the parcels to be "situate in that part of Ambleside Feild in Ambleside aforesaid called Lascale How," as this fixes the position of one at least of the ancient communal meadows, whether the "Old Feild" or not.

(4)—PARTRIDGE.

Five Partridges pledge land in this deed, besides a Robert (21), whose pledge is not entered. Their contributions are not large. Thomas (20) and William (18) each furnish 3s. 4d., the others less. One William (5) is described, to identify him from the other, as "above stocke." The name of his land, *Broadmire*, is still found on the ordnance map above Ambleside on the Kirkstone road. The *parke* suggests that here on the Stock was anciently an enclosure for deer, in addition to the "park of Amelsate" in Scandale, of which we read in 1275. The other William's pledge of *half a acree at longdale* (18) is doubtless on the same ground as Thomas

Jackson's (note 3). The *heigh akes* of Thomas (20) is not to be certainly located. There is the present farm *Oaks*, above Ambleside. There is also a fine field, whose rocky knolls bear big oak trees, and which is called Oaks, on lower ground towards the lake. This last likewise joins *dykes*, a field near Broadlands, where a rood was pledged by Robert (33), on Borrans Lane. For *Horsebrige*, where a rood was pledged by Rowlland (40) see *Newton*.

List II., of 1620, gives four Partridges: Thomas contributing 7s. 8d., Robert 3s. 4d., Rowland 2s. 4d., and James conspicuously "nil." Robert and Rowland signed the bond in the same year last of the eleven. Two Thomases only appear in the third Chapel List (after 1677) contributing 5s. od. and 4s. 6d; and the rents paid by them in 1675 for their holdings were respectively 10s. 10d. and 6s. 8d.

(5)—NEWTON.

As early as 1453 we find a John Newton holding office as "reeve" in Ambleside. The Chapel Deed of 1597 shows there were then five land-holders of the name. Robert of Hill (6) had probably his homestead at the present Hill Top. His half rood pledge at *old holmes* is no doubt—since holm is the ancient name for the wych elm—to be found in the large field adjoining Meadow Bank, where hockey is played, now known as Old Helems. Later it belonged to Ambleside Hall, and the Account Book of November, 1704, gives "for making a new yeat for ye old helm 8d." From about 1730 to 1748 Old Helmes was part of the Salutation Inn property, then held by Lancelot Dobson. The relatively high price of land to house property at that time is shown in the valuation, which fixes the Inn with its outhouses and orchards at £6, and this single field at £8. *High seathwaite*, where Richard pledged half a rood (10), is known as Seathwaite Rayne. Christopher (17) at *broadmire* is close below. Robert *de greene* (13) may have dwelt at the present Green. *Reedhowe*, where he pledged a rood, may possibly be a present field called *How* by the lake where reeds grow. The pledge of Robert of *Nooke* (39) can be more definitely placed. For, by a deed of 1669, endorsed "Edward Forrest deed of the Broadgate to save John Newton harmlesse" (R. H. MSS.), John Newton, of Nook-end, having been bound for a sum of money for his neighbour Edward Forrest, of Nook-end, is indemnified therefor by a field "known as Broadgate and Ranke roods," part of Edward's estate. As both had property called Broadgate, it was probably ancient common land adjoining the highway to Rydal—made first by the Romans—the Broadgate, as distinguished from the narrow packhorse lane above. The pledge at *Horsebrig* (40) next to this, suggests a com-

paratively new bridge for the Broadgate over Scandal Beck, where had been a ford and perhaps a footbridge before.

In List II. Robert and Miles contribute 6s.; the wife of Lancelot with John Dixon, 1s.; and Thomas Newton, 3s. Thomas signed the bond of the Ambleside men in that year as sixth.

In the third list two Johns contribute respectively 3s. 3d. and 3s. 6d.; Thomas 3s. 3d. and Edward 3s. The 1675 Rental shows John to pay 14s. 2d. lord's rent; the other John, 7s. 6d.; and Jane, widow, 6s. 8d. In 1707 a Thomas lived at "Brow."

A James Newton, in 1684, gave the silver chalice to the chapel that still exists.

In 1778 the Misses J. and A. Newton were concerned in the appointment of new trustees for the Kelsick Trust, and their correspondence on the subject exists. They rented a house and a garden from the Trust in 1800 and paid £2 2s.

(6)—MACKERETH.

In the Mackereths we have one of the earliest and certainly the largest and most persistent family of the Ambleside statesmen. The Levens Rental (1379-1403) shows that five out of the twenty-eight holders were Mackereths—William paying 16s. 4d. for a toft, three acres and meadow; John £1 6s. 8d. for a messuage, six acres and meadow; Sibeth, widow of Henry, £1 6s. 8d. for the like; another William 13s. 4d.; and a Thomas, who held both a full messuage at £1 6s. 8d. and a toft at 13s. 4d.

In 1438 John and Henry were graves, and in 1489 Thomas served the same office, paying his arrears of 10s. 4d. four years later.

In 1597 nine Mackereths put in land pledges, besides three landless ones who contributed to the chapel. List II. gives eight contributors of the name, List III. seven. The 1675 Rental shows there were seven of them then holding lands. Only a few of these can be discriminated. They were variously seated at Crabtree (Robert in 1597); at Green; at Spout (both Thomas and John, who in 1692 held money of the chapel and paid interest on it); at Kills Sike (Margaret, widow, buried 1723); at Buske (John, in 1771, who buys Miller Bridge property); and the Causeway.

Besides estatesmen, there were innkeepers, mercers, smiths, and brewers among them. The last is shown by the Ambleside Hall Accounts of 1675—"payed Th° Mackerth of the spout for Malt had of him 1ll 0s 0d." Of the inn on the Causey we have already given some particulars. Whether the William "of Casey" kept it in 1597 there is nothing to show. He may have been the William who is discriminated as "Smith" in List II. giving 1s. 6d.; while a William "of the Causey" in 1682 sold the property he had recently acquired

of Housesteads at Miller Bridge.* Gawen, who supplied wine to Rydal Hall about 1660, no doubt kept the Causeway Inn, where he was succeded by George, whose house the Brathwaite accounts show to have been very popular about 1675, and who held a license in 1691, along with five other innkeepers. If he were the George senior, of the 1675 Rental, his 6s. 8d. rent would only cover his inn; but if the junior, his payment of £1 6s. 8d. makes him a large statesman. In List III. a George contributes the large amount of 19s. 6d.

But the Subsidy Rolls show a richer line than the innkeepers. In 1641 James was the only man taxed, except Mr. Gawen Brathwaite, and he paid 16s. 6d. on goods valued at £3. He is probably the James who gave 9s. in List II., and in the same year signed the bond eighth of the eleven. Again, in 1661 and 1675, John, possibly his successor, enjoys the same pre-eminence. A John in the latter year pays for a fullsized holding £1 6s. 8d., with an additional 3s. 4d., and in List III. stands at 14s. 4d. One wonders if the James, mercer, who figures in the Widow Fisher quarrel, were of this rich stock, and the wealth acquired in trade.

If we look to the land pledges of the family we find that all capable of being now identified lay below Stock, except William's rood at *white flate* (8) (see Jackson). *Cote howe*, where a William (22) and Robert of Crabtree (28) respectively pledged a rood, is totally forgotten, but Green fortunately took two views from it, which shows it to have been a mound south-west of the town, somewhere near the Roman Catholic Chapel. The origin of the name is yet unexplained. *Bullwhaie*, where Thomas pledged a rood (35), is said to be an intake on the south end of Wansfell. The rest appear to lie more in the bottom. *Chermyre* pledge of Henry (27) is not known. *Fisher Inge*, Rannold's pledge (31) was no doubt an outlying strip that adjoined Fisher Beck; it shows how the lands of Mackereth and Fisher joined, if they did not intermingle. *Craginge*, Bryan's rood (44) was perhaps another outlying meadow by the Crag at Clappersgate, for the *Hudestcroft* it follows, put in by a Clappersgate man (43) may be identified as the present Croft. *Drumble-myre*, George's pledge (46) is known to be the low meadow crossed by the footpath from the Borrans Lane to the high-road near Rothay Bank. The name recalls the time when the bittern—the "Myre Dromble" haunted the swamps that surrounded the Roman Camp. The Buske, home of one branch, is now the name of a cottage that stands on the Wansfell side of the lane leading from Blue Hill to Low Fold. The Buske field adjoins the high-

* For loan of the Miller Bridge deeds I am indebted to Mr. Clay.

standing Gale Lodge, which may have been built upon a old homestead.

It is singular that the old Causeway has been forgotten. It is natural to think that it led up from the Camp somewhere near Cross Sykes, and by the line of Back Cumpstone up to the present narrow lane that debouches on the old Market Square through an archway. This makes a direct line for Halicar Ford. But, though there is one smithy (doubtless an old one) on this incomplete line of street portions, there is no inn—unless the Black Cock that stood immediately to the left of the archway, where the jeweller's shop now is, may be said to have been upon the Causeway. Green shows the Black Cock in several of his etchings. It was here, in 1799, when it was kept by Christopher Forrest, that John Hodgson, "Yarn dealer" or "Linsy-Weaver," of Ambleside above Stock, sold his Miller Bridge property, which he had bought from John Mackereth of the Busk in 1785.

If the Causeway was the main street between Ambleside and Waterhead, the Mackereth's inn may have been the present White Lion, which is a very old inn. Sir William Fleming, with Mr. Cumpston and others, formed a club for recreation about 1740-45, which met regularly at the "White Lyon." The Mackereth smithy may have stood there too. Sketches of the old smithy yet exist, that is said to have been next the White Lion and the last house of the town on the left when leaving it for Waterhead. Beyond stretched the row of Gale firs, where now a row of high-pitched shops back up against the steep hill side.

(7)—FOREST.

In the Forests we have one of the oldest and most influential familes of Ambleside. The name occurs twice in the early rental (1379-1403) and its origin is shown there. *Robert de le Forest* pays a lord's rent of £1 6s. 8d. on a messuage and appurtenances with eight acres; *Ryc* (Richard) *de le Forrest* £1 for a toft and three acres.

Edward Foreste was "reeve" or grave for the year between Michaelmas 1493 and 1494.

In 1585 Marion Forreste, "of the Haye," granted by a good parchment deed her farmhold "above the stocke" to John Forrest for £40; and two years later he paid a gressum to the lord for admission to the holdings of the late Henry Forrest "of five cattells" being 13s. 4d. His receipts were signed by Mr. Myles Phillipson, of Crook, deputy steward. In 1597 another John was admitted to holdings of a rental of £1 6s. 8d., paying a gressum of that amount. He several times acted as grave, and the receipts

of his payments to the steward exist for 1601, 1623, and 1624; the half-yearly payments of the tenants that passed through his hands amounting to £13 8s. 6d. He apparently had no children, and in 1625 executed a very quaintly-worded deed, by which he made over to Edward Forrest, oldest son of Richard, all his property, "Beasts Sheepe and Cattels implem^ts houshoulstuffe . . . . . p'sonall mouvable as unmouvable quick or dead whatsoev^r excepting the bed and bedclothes wch Jane now Wiffe of the forsaid John Forrest doth lye in, and such weareing app'ell as usually are worne or belonging unto here owne body . . . . . And in token thereof; the said John Forrest hath with his owne hand deliuv^red unto the said Edward Forrest one silver spoone in the name of all the p'misses." In return Edward is to provide John and Jane with meat, attendance, and lodging in "the chamber they now lye in," and £10 a year; while Jane, if she survives John, is to have the option of departing with bed, bedding and apparel, and £6 a year.

In the following year the land and holdings are made over by indenture to Edward, because of the love and affection John bears him for his faithful services of twenty-two years, when old age and loss of sight have made John dependent. The property is stated to consist of three messuages, tenements, or customary estates, rental £1, held by ancient custom lately confirmed by His Highness. Edward undertakes to carry out the will of John with its bequests, and to maintain the aged couple in comfort, and gives a bond of £200 to the "supervisors" of the will—Mr. Christophor Philipson and Mr. Gawen Brathwaite.

It is this rich old John, apparently, whom we find contributing only 7d. to the chapel in 1597, for which he pledged a rood at *highe of Seathat* (11). The wife of Richard (and no doubt mother of the good Edward) gave 8d. and pledged a rood at *Killhow* (15)—a name not now to be identified in Ambleside, but which is usual in every hamlet hereabouts, showing probably where the old lord's brewery stood. Old John signed the bond of 1620 next after Mr. Gawen Brathwaite and the lord's grave, and in the same year contributed 9s. to the chapel fund; while a Robert gave 3s., an Edward 6s., a Thomas 1s. 6d., and a Richard 3s. John died apparently soon after. The will of Edward, his heir, is dated 1637; and in 1641, Ann, his widow, began to pay off numerous legacies under John's will to various Forrests described as *below stock*, and one to John Newton of Nookend.

Perhaps these legacies crippled the estate, or the new Edward "of Nook-end" was not equal to his forefathers. We presently find him sinking deep under an accumulation of mortgages. He was not only indebted to his neighbour, John Newton, but to the

Chapel Fund, to Reginald Brathwaite of Cappersgate (to whom he mortgaged a close called *Sweathen* or *Sweethen-head*, clearly at the top of the Scandale valley), and Mr. Thomas Brathwaite, of Ambleside Hall. When the crash came the latter bought the other mortgagees out, and took over the "Forrest" estate, which he left with certain reservations of trust to his relatives. The rental of 1675 shows that his sister, Mrs. Sands, was then paying a lord's rent of £1 on "Edward Forrest's estate"; while a Richard Forrest and a Thomas were each paying 6s. 8d., no doubt on holdings below stock. Edward's is the only name of the clan on the third Chapel List contributing 12s.

(8)—ELLIS.

Four Ellises are represented in the 1597 list:—Thomas (9), 1s. 8d. who pledges half an acre at *Watles Rigge* (unknown); Richard, (19), 2s. at *Brademyre*; John (16), 1s. 4d. at *Mradmyre* (probably a mistake for the last); and Robert (29), who for his 4d. pledged a rood of meadow over the dike at *brade Inge*. As the dyke is the cut and probably diverted channel of Fisher Beck as it approaches the lake, the Broad Ing was doubtless near it. In the 1620 list we find again four of the name:—the wife of Thomas, giving 2s. 4d.; Thomas, younger, 1s. 4d.; another Thomas, carpenter, 3s.; and a George, 1s. 8d. The undated list shows two (spelled Ellize)—wife of Robert, giving 1s. 6d., and Thomas 3s. The rental of 1675 shows that Thomas Elliz paid a lord's rent of 6s. 8d., and a widow Agnes also 6s. 8d. In 1676 Thomas Ellis willed his property of 6s. 8d. rental, stated to lie at *Ellis-becke*. Ellis Beck is, I am told, a name applied to the reach of Stock Beck between the Bobbin Mill and Stock Bridge. There was a William Ellise of *Spout*, cooper, in 1699, to whom Eleanor Mackereth, also of *Spout*, made over by a quaint deed drawn up by the Rev. Thomas Knott, all her household goods, her sheep and her corn, on the condition that he would keep her in her last sickness and bury her.

(9)—FISHER.

This family, which has left its name to a well-known beck, is represented in the early rental (1379-1403) by a Jhōes Fysher, who heads the list—probably because his lands lay first of the township when approaching from Waterhead—as holding one messuage, one close, and two acres of land, paying 13s. 4d. There are three of the name in the 1597 list:—William, younger, (30) 4d., who pledges half a rood at *mollding forde;* Christofer (32), 7d., a rood at *Birdas;* and William, elder, (36) 4d., a rood at *Gowsehowe*. Mollding ford is quite lost; it may have been the ancient crossing of

Fisher Beck, which now, cabined in a *cundreth*, runs under the high road between Waterhead and Ambleside unnoticed. The ancient home of the Fishers is doubtless represented by the present Fisher Beck House. Birdas is the meadow that stretches along the last reach of the Rothay; and the joint streams of Rothay and Brathay are for their brief course called Birdhouse Mouth. "Burdass" belonged to the Salutation lands in 1720, and was valued at £1. In 1800 Edward Partridge rented from the School Lands (Kelsick's) "2 Roods in Bird-house and Belstone Brow, a Pasture" for £3. Two more Fishers—John, 4d., and Rannold, 4d.—are given in the list without land pledges. In 1620 a George Fisher contributed 3s. to the chapel, while a John, who had clearly promised 3s., is crossed out with "nil." The undated list gives only a wife of James contributing 12s. 4d.

In the 1675 rental James Fisher pays £1 6s. 8d., showing that his holding was one of the old important ones; and Mabel, widow, 1s. 8d. The will of James, "of Fisherbeck," dated October 13, 1681, is at Rydal Hall. He left a tenement called "the Watterhead," which he had purchased from John Atkinson, rent 6s. 8d., in trust to be sold and divided among his children. The trustees, of whom Sir Daniel Fleming was one, divided the £82 and received acquittances in 1697. There is a Fisher field still at Waterhead. Widow Fisher, of the Mackereth quarrel, was probably James' widow. The inventory of her goods, found among the Browne MSS., shows her to have been a flourishing stateswoman, rich in stock.

"An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels which were Elizabeth Fishers of Fisherbecke in Ambleside in the County of Westm^rland Widdow deceased, viewed and Aprized the first day of July Anno Dom'i 1697 by Christopher Birkett of Troutbeck, Thomas Mackereth of the Greene in Ambleside, Gawen Brathwait of Brathey in Furness Fels, and Michael Tyson of Ambleside in the County of Westm^rland Aprizors equally apointed by the Executo^rs in the Last Will and Testm^t of the said Elizabeth Fisher, as Followeth

	li	s	d
Imp^r her Apparrell and one Spoone	01	05	06
Itm Bedding	02	15	00
Itm Brasse vessell	02	09	00
Itm Pewder vessell	01	18	06
Itm Wooden vessell	01	02	06
Itm Iron geare, earthen and Glasse Botles	01	13	04
Itm Tables, Chaires, Formes and Stooles	01	15	06
Itm Chists, and Arks, and Bedsteades..	03	01	06
Itm Husbandry geare and plow-geare	01	10	06
Itm Bigg, Meale & Malt	04	01	06
Itm Beife and Bacon	00	03	04

	li	s	d
Itm Wooll	03	10	06
Itm Corne, as Bigg & Oates groweing	25	00	00
Itm Chattell young & old	55	10	00
Itm One Mare	02	00	00
Itm Shepe young & old	35	00	00
Suma total Bonar	142	16	08
Owed by the deceased			
Imp^{r} to her sonne George Fisher	03	00	00
Itm to Michael Tyson	02	05	00
Itm to Robt Atkinson	03	06	00
Itm to Thomas Mackereth	00	10	00
Itm to sev^{r}all p'sons upon fun^{r}all Acc^{t}..	00	00	00
Itm to Willm Udall	01	00	05
Itm to Richard Forrest	00	16	03
Itm to Wm Pearson & Willm Elliz	00	04	03
Itm to James Mackereth	12	10	05
Itm to Ellinor Watson	10	10	00
Itm to sev^{r}ll other p'sons about	02	00	00
Itm to her son Willm Fisher	02	06	00
Itm to Christopher Birkett for making 3 Wills	00	07	06
Itm to (sic) for smith work	00	12	00
Itm to Elizabeth Benson	01	08	06
Itm to Agnes Benson	00	07	00
Itm for a Sesse to the poor	00	04	01
Itm to her Daughter Agnes	01	00	00
Itm to James Lancaster	00	13	00
Sum debitor..	43	00	05
Sumā declaro	99	16	03

Witnesse our hands

Christo: Birkett
Gawen Brathwaite
Thomas Mackereth
Michael M^{mark} Tyson

(10)—AIREY, ATKINSON, AND BROCKBANK.

Only these three names remain to be dealt with, and the last was a landless man. In the earliest rental a *Ryc. de brockebanke* appears to join with a William Johnson at one messuage, two houses, and eight acres, for which they paid 33s. 4d.

David Eraye (14) gave 2s. with his pledge at *Swedlebuske*, a name perhaps corrupted from *Sweden* (Scandale), while busk was the old word for coppice. In 1620 a Barnard Erey gave 6s. In the undated list a David Arey gave 6s. The rental of 1675 shows there were two statesmen then of the name, George and Daniel Ayrey, both paying 6s. 8d. rent.

Atkynson is represented in the early rental by Thomas, who held one toft, three acres and meadow, paying 13s. 4d. rent. In 1597 the wife of John Atkinson (24), 4d., pledges a rood at *Bradehowe*, while Christopher (25), 4d., pledges half an acre at *Howes*. Howes is said to be the high ground opposite Stock Ghyll Waterfall. It was part of the Salutation land in 1720, and valued at £3. Two landless Atkinsons also contribute.

In the 1620 list John Atkinson, elder, contributed 8d. In the undated list a Robert gives 6s., but no statesman of the name appears in the rental of 1675.

Amongst the landholders of the early rental the names Carûs (Carrodus), Harreson, Jhonson, Dicson (Dixon) appear, and though later unrepresented among the statesmen these names are still usual in the place. Two or three new names appear in the 1675 rental:—John Kelsick, the shopman, 16s. 8d.; Frances Cowperthwaite, widow, 6s. 8d.; Christopher Dawes, 6s. 8d.; William Browne, 10s.; Jane Studdert, 6s. 8d.; John Lowes, 5s. 4d.

Other old field names, preserved in the account book of Lancelot Dobson of the Salutation in 1720, are Nelly Close, valued at £1; Old Folds and Runing Sikes, £2 10s.; Redbanke, £2; Meacans, £1; Styeriggs, £1 15s.; Bridge Holme, 15s. Brigg Holme Dub was a pool in the Rothay above Rothay Bridge, near Cross Syke. An old inhabitant bathed in it as a boy. Redbank is on the side of Wansfell. Nelly Close is now a wood on the left bank of the Stock.

ART. II. — *The Kirkbys of Kirkby-in-Furness, in the Seventeenth Century:* illustrated by their portraits. By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 27th, 1905.

ABOUT twelve years ago I communicated to our Society some account of the two old halls of Kirkby and Ashlack in Furness, and this paper our then editor did me the honour of printing in full. In working at the subject I found reason to believe that the old family portraits of the Kirkbys still remained in the district, and it was due to conditions of health and other work that I did not then follow up the subject any further.

Some clue was contained in Stockdale's *Annals of Cartmel* (p. 105), where it is stated:—

> Some of the fine old paintings (portraits) of the ancient knightly family of Kirkby of Kirkby, having been stowed away out of sight for years in a disused room, covered all over with cobwebs, have lately (1869) been sold by auction at St. Mary's Mount at prices far below their value as works of art.

Then follows a statement that at the date of publication three remained unsold, one being a portrait of John de Kirkby, of the time of Henry II. and Edward I.

Since last year I have been at some pains to ascertain what the pictures were that were thus sold, and to some extent I may claim success, as five of them are now in my possession.

The full history seems to be this:—The last of the Kirkbys (locally) was William Kirkby (born 1757), in whose time it seems that the estates of both Kirkby and Ashlack were finally parted with. On quitting the home of his family early in the nineteenth century, he either gave or sold the family portraits to his estate bailiff, John

Coulton, whose grandson is now bank manager to the Bank of Liverpool at Broughton-in-Furness. This John Coulton sold most (if not all except one) to John Kirkby, a bookseller, of Ulverston, who again sold them to Mr. T. E. Jefferson, of St. Mary's Mount, near Ulverston, after which they re-appeared at the sale in 1869, as chronicled by Stockdale. At this sale five (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6) were bought by Dr. Henry Barber, then of Ulverston, and author of *Furness and Cartmel Notes*, who re-sold them to the late Mr. J. K. Hodgson, J.P., of Brittain Place, Ulverston, at whose sale, last April, they passed into my possession.

At the sale of 1869, one (No. 7) was bought by the Misses Yarker, of Conynger Hurst, Pennington, who, however, had already another of the series (No. 4), which they must have bought direct either from John Coulton or John Kirkby, although this purchase is now forgotten. These two are now in possession of Colonel Gaisford, the nephew of the Misses Yarker, to whom I must tender my best thanks for affording me every facility to photograph and examine them. One picture, however, appears to have remained in the possession of the Jeffersons, but I am unable to trace it now, while one (No. 8) is still in the possession of Mr. Coulton of Broughton, which brings up the total to nine. I can make nothing of the picture of John de Kirkby of the thirteenth century, mentioned by Stockdale; but this picture (whatever it was), with the two last mentioned, seem to be the three mentioned by Stockdale as "still unsold" in his book which was printed in 1872.

Before passing to our description, it may be premised that there are four of the series, the identity of the subjects of which cannot be questioned owing to the excellent seventeenth century fashion of painting coats-of-arms on the picture itself. Three of the others I hope to place; for I think that the costume, features, and the age of the individuals represented, are sufficient for this purpose. I

I. ROGER KIRKBY; 1603.

TO FACE P. 98.

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II.—JANE KIRKBY, 1603.

TO FACE P. 99.

will therefore take them in the order which I believe to be the true chronological one, and an examination of the pedigree accompanying this paper will, I hope, make clear what I have to say.

1.—The portrait of Roger Kirkby of Kirkby Hall (sixteenth generation in West's *Antiquities of Furness*). Born 1581. Married Jane, daughter of Edward Rigby of Burgh, in Lancashire. Died 1627. (Plate I.)

The painting is on three oak boards, roughly planed, and nailed with flat-headed iron nails to a moulded oak frame, and also fixed together with wooden pegs, which, with the frame, hold the boards together as a panel. Inclusive measurement: 34 inches by 28¼ inches.

Roger Kirkby is depicted standing slightly to the left,* dressed in a speckled white doublet with falling collar and red knee breeches. The left hand is gloved and carries a hawk with leash and jesses, and in the right hand is the hawk's hood. The face is beardless and weak; and the hair, which is nearly black, is bunched over the ears. On the right is an inscription:

ANNO DN̄I 1603.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 22.

And on the left a shield of arms: *Argent two bars gules, on a canton of the second, a cross moline or,* (Kirkby), *impaling Bendy of six indented argent and azure, on a chief sable, three cinquefoils or.* (Rigby).

2.—Jane, wife of the above and daughter of Edward Rigby. Born 1582. Fellow-picture to No. 1 and No. 3. Measurement: 34½ inches by 27½ inches. (Plate II.)

Jane Kirkby is shewn in an attitude very similar to that of her husband, except that her left hand is empty and she carries a flower in her right. The costume and headdress are the usual ones of Elizabethan ladies of rank. She wears a very large ruff, a richly embroidered

* The terms "turned to right" and "left" denote the spectator's right and left.

stomacher, and an upper gown with lace-edged cuffs. The face is oval and fresh coloured, and the hair and eyes brown. Inscription:

ANNO DN̄I 1603.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 21.

And shield of arms as in No. 1.

3.—Edward Rigby, of Burgh, in Lancashire. Father of No. 2. Married Dorothy Anderton, of Clayton. Fellow-picture to Nos. 1 and 2. Measurement: 34½ inches by 27½ inches. (Plate III.)

This is the portrait of an elderly man, wearing a triple ruff and velvet doublet. He carries his gloves in the right hand, and a vellum-bound book with the initials E.R. in his left; otherwise the pose is similar to the last two pictures. The face is a striking one, being long, with a high forehead, close-cropped hair, and a long beard streaked with grey. The inscription is:

ANN DN̄I 1603.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 52.

In this picture the shield of arms is more elaborated, having the helmet, mantling, crest, and motto all painted. It is the paternal arms of Rigby only, with the crest—*a goat's head sable bezantée horned and bearded or.* Motto: TENDIT IN ARDUÆ *(sic)* VIRTUS.

These three pictures form a very interesting family group, and seem to be the work of one artist, who probably worked at Kirkby, the panels being perhaps prepared by a village carpenter. This is the suggestion of our editor. At the same time, it seems to me that No. 3 represents not only a more striking personality, but is better altogether as regards the drawing and modelling of the face. The treatment of the faces of his daughter and Roger Kirkby has little relief, and it cannot be claimed that the artist has succeeded in giving them much expression. In all three the drawing of the hands is weak.

III.—EDWARD RIGBY, 1603.

TO FACE P. 100.

IV.—AGNES KIRKBY, (d. 1684).

TO FACE P. 101.

4.—Agnes, wife of Roger Kirkby, of Kirkby Hall (born 1601, son and heir of No. 1), and daughter of Sir John Lowther of Lowther. Died 1684. (Plate IV.)

This picture is in quite a different style, on ancient canvas, but now in a modern frame. Sight measurement, 27 inches by 23 inches. It is a half length, turned slightly to the right, and painted in an oval border. It shews an elderly woman, with a long pointed nose and a mouth which turns up characteristically at the corners. The costume, with hood, has a rather religious look, but is only the widow's costume of the period. To the left of the head is a shield of arms—Kirkby impaling Lowther—round which is the inscription:

ANO DN̄I
1677 (or 1673 ?)

And on the right hand of the head:

ÆTA. SV.Æ
70.

The arms and costume shew that this is the widow of Roger Kirkby, M.P., the Royalist, to whose history we shall by and bye return. This painting is now in the possession of Colonel Gaisford, at Conynger Hurst, who allowed me to examine it and the other Kirkby picture in his possession. According to Dr. Barber this picture was in the possession of Miss Yarker before the sale at St. Mary's Mount, and the curious thing is that there is said to be another replica or copy in the possession of Colonel Inigo Jones, of Kelstone Hall, near Bath, which is reported to have come from Conishead Priory, and to represent Margaret Dodding, daughter of Roger Kirkby and Agnes Lowther. But as the subject of our painting was born in 1607 (or 1603), and Roger Kirkby, who married Agnes Lowther, was born in 1601, this, of course, is impossible, irrespective of the testimony of the shield of arms. The true explanation, supposing the picture at

Kelstone to be really of the same person, must be that Agnes Kirkby (née Lowther) was painted in duplicate, and one copy passed to her daughter Margaret, who married Myles Dodding, whence it descended by the Braddylls and Gales to Colonel Inigo Jones; while that belonging now to Colonel Gaisford probably remained at Kirkby, and was purchased directly by the Yarker family either from Mr. Coulton or the Ulverston bookseller.

5.—Portrait of a gentleman of about 1670. On canvas, in a gilded but not original frame. Sight measurement, 32 inches by 28½ inches. (Plate V.)

This picture is the best and most interesting of the series. It is a half length, turned threequarters to the left. The subject wears a heavy wig and the lace cravat (which was of French origin and succeeded the *rebbat* or falling collar, and the ruff). He also has ruffles on the sleeves.

On this picture there is neither coat of arms nor inscription, and we are therefore compelled to scrutinize it carefully and examine the pedigree before we can arrive at any satisfactory opinion. To begin with, it is not only evidently a striking portrait, but is also undoubtedly by a good painter, and therefore was probably painted in London. The left hand rests on the hip, and the right hand, which is fully extended, is excellently painted.

The face is long, and so is the nose, the latter being also aquiline and heavy at the end—a marked feature of the face. The mouth turns up at the corners, and near them we see those small indented curves which shew that the clean-shaved face is that of a man no longer young. The lower lip has a slight sensuous projection.

The eyes are of a rather narrow type, and the eyebrows are elevated at the inner corners; and this last feature, coupled with the shape of the mouth, give an arrogant or supercilious expression which strikes one as unpleasant.

Whom does this interesting picture represent? To begin with, the portrait shows a man, as far as I can

V. COLONEL RICHARD KIRKBY?

TO FACE P. 102.

judge, of about forty-five or fifty years of age, and the details of costume prove that it represents a man of social position, and was painted about 1670. Let us examine the pedigree and see who will fit.

Roger Kirkby, son of the Roger No. 1 and husband of Agnes Lowther, cannot be the person represented, since he was born in 1601 and died in Ireland in August, 1643. (Dugdale's Visit. Lancs., 1664.)

This Roger had one brother, John Kirkby, who lived from 1650 to 1680 with his sister Alice Fleming at Coniston Hall, and died there a bachelor in 1680. As he was neither head of the family, a resident at Kirkby, nor a man of prominence or fashion, it is most unlikely that the portrait can be of him.

Roger Kirkby, by his union with Agnes Lowther, had five sons. The eldest was Richard Kirkby, a colonel after the Restoration, a prominent Justice of the Peace, and especially known on account of the numerous references contained in the Fox and Fell correspondence, to the harshness and severity with which he treated the early "Friends." He was born in 1625, married four times, and died in 1681. He would, therefore, be forty-five in 1670, which fits with the date I ascribe to the portrait and the apparent age of the subject. Later, we shall see that all that is known of the history of this Colonel Richard Kirkby adds to the probability of this identification. Before, however, leaving him for the present, we should notice that this portrait, in the shape of the face, the long nose, and unusual mouth shews a resemblance to Agnes Lowther so very remarkable as to render it certain that some near relationship, such as that of mother and son, exists between the two subjects.

Colonel Richard had, however, four younger brothers. Of these, John Kirkby the eldest, although married, was dead without issue in 1664 (Dugdale's Visit. Lancs.) Roger and Christopher seem never to have married, or at any rate had no issue; and William, the fifth brother, of

Ashlack Hall, was Surveyor General of H.M. Customs, and married three times. But he was born in 1635, and in 1670 would be only thirty-five, so that all four brothers may, I think, be dismissed. Lastly, Dr. Barber, in his *Furness and Cartmel Notes* (p. 218), ascribes this portrait to Roger Kirkby, son and heir to Colonel Richard. But this Roger was only born in 1649, and in 1670 would be only twenty-one which makes this attribution impossible. The result, therefore, of this examination is that there is no member of the family who can with real probability be named except Colonel Richard Kirkby. To the history of this man I shall recur later.

6.—Portrait of a lady, about 1650, on canvas in frame, like No. 5). Sight measurement, 27 inches by 24½ inches. (Plate VI.)

This is a well-painted portrait of a woman of perhaps about twenty-eight, head and shoulders, and turned three-quarters to the left. She is painted in an ornamental oval border, with a black kerchief round the head fastened beneath the chin with a brooch. She wears a necklace of pearls, and a low-cut bodice filled in with a lace vest, and an ornament of three Pearls on the bosom. The features are nice, the nose pointed, lips full and rather pouting, brown eyes, and colour delicate. A red cloak is also indicated slipped off the shoulders.

The date of this costume is probably before 1660, and it is the same as that in a miniature of Lady Manners, by S. Cooper, figured in Williamson's *History of Portrait Miniatures*, and the date of which is 1650.* The lady is, therefore, a contemporary of Colonel Richard Kirkby, and must be either one of his four wives or eight sisters. As all the sisters but one married, the probability is greatly in favour of its being one of the four wives. The names of these ladies were (1) Elizabeth Murray, (2) Isabel Hudle-

* Vol. i., pl. xvi. (fig. 6), and p. 74. There exists also a portrait of Mrs. Cromwell (Elizabeth Stewart), mother of Oliver Cromwell, with a white kerchief tied thus. It is ascribed to Robert Walker.

VI.—ELIZABETH MURRAY

Wife of Col. Kirkby, c. 1650 ?

TO FACE P. 104.

VII.—COLONEL ROGER KIRKBY?

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ston, (3) Ellen Moxey, or Maxey, and (4) a daughter of Dr. Eden. Now Richard Kirkby was married to his second wife about 1655-6, and to his third wife as early as 1661, as Sir Daniel Fleming's papers shew (see *infra*). So that the portrait probably represents Elizabeth Murray or Isabel Hudleston; and, looking at the likeness between this portrait and the portrait No. 7, which I assume to be Colonel Roger the heir, I am strongly of opinion that it is the first-named.

7.—Portrait of an officer in armour, painted on canvas in an old oval gilt frame. Sight measurement: height 28¾ inches. (Plate VII.)

This picture shews a young man with the body turned well to the right, no doubt to shew the suit of plate armour of the sort worn in the second half of the seventeenth century. He wears a lace cravat, and instead of a wig the hair is brushed out round the back of the head. The face is florid and oval, the eyebrows arched, and the lips full—all features in common with the lady No. 6. Yet the nose is heavy at the end, like that of Colonel Richard Kirkby.

If the attributions I have attempted are correct I do not think much difficulty exists here. Colonel Gaisford, in whose possession this picture now is, tells me that this has always been called the "Colonel Kirkby who persecuted the Quakers"; but while the costume is, I think, later than portrait No. 5, the man is much younger, and I feel little doubt that we have here Roger, the eldest son of Richard by Elizabeth Murray, who became a Colonel of the Coldstream Guards, Governor of Chester Castle, and High Sheriff of Lancashire. This Roger was aged fifteen in 1664, and died in 1708. His first commission as Ensign in the Coldstreams was in 1673, when he was twenty-four years old.

If this identification is accepted, that of No. 6 may, I think, also be taken as his mother Elizabeth (Murray).

8.—This portrait, in the possession of Mr. George

Coulton, at Broughton-in-Furness, is of a lady, and in a frame very similar to No. 7. It is very much varnished and of less interest than those described. The only time I saw it I did not perceive any clue to identification.

I do not suppose that there are sufficient grounds for identifying the painters of these portraits. The three early ones of Roger and Jane Kirkby and Edward Rigby are interesting as careful work of probably some itinerant artist, and their interest lies in being a set of untouched and authentic pictures of the period. The style may be termed archaic, being rather that of the middle of the sixteenth than commencement of the seventeenth century. Nos. 5 and 6 belong to a different category, and I am not without hopes that the artist may be discovered among the school of English and other painters who were working at this period. The names of the best known of these painters, after Lely and Kneller, are as follows:—J. Riley, Robt. Walker, E. Lutterel, Michael Dahl, — Davenport, J. Greenhill, Mrs. Beale, W. Dobson, Wm. Trabute, Thos. Flatman, William Wissing, J. Hayls, Jacob Huysmans, John Taylor, J. Michael Wright, Robert Streater.* Of these I would suggest J. Riley as the possible painter of the portrait No. 5; but there is a portrait of Sir Vere Fane, afterwards 4th Earl of Westmorland, painted by Trabute in 1677, in which the pose and treatment are very like those in the picture of Colonel Kirkby.

Family History.

In working at these identifications I have necessarily searched all the published sources at my disposal, and with the portraits before us, I think these items of family history (of more than family interest, however) may properly be tabulated and recorded without apology.

The Kirkby family were of that class of landed squires

* This list is compiled partly from the collection at the National Portrait Portrait Gallery; but see also *Archæological Journal*. vol. lx., p. 268, and the *Catalogue of a Loan Collection of Portraits, 1625-1714, exhibited at Oxford, 1905.*

which belonged absolutely to the land, having been seated at Kirkby from time immemorial, taking their name from, and continually residing on their manor. It was, in fact, the only armigerous family that fulfilled all these conditions in Furness down to the nineteenth century.* The Kirkbys took the leading part among the landowning families of this district from the time we first hear of them, and their position was similar to that of their neighbours, the Flemings, with whom they frequently married; only the very name of the latter points to a foreign origin, while that of Kirkby suggests the exact reverse.

Like many other old families, their family pride, ambition, and religion caused them to take too active a part in the struggles of the seventeenth century, and it was practically at this period that they were submerged. Our portraits illustrate this era of calamity in the family fortunes.

West, in his Antiquities of Furness, gives a long pedigree of the family, which however has, I believe, very numerous errors in it. The Lancashire Heraldic Visitations (especially Dugdale's, 1664) record a good deal about the family; but the most interesting matter by far, I have, found in the correspondence and accounts of Sir Daniel Fleming (published in the *12th Report Historical MS. Commission*, part vii.), and in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic Series). Sir Daniel was a near relative of the family, for his mother was a sister of Roger (died 1643); and a great aunt, Eleanor, was mother to Agnes Lowther, who married the said Roger. Lastly, we get in the early Quaker records, some light on the contemporary Kirkbys which has quite an interest of its own.

If disaster had not thus reached them, they would most probably have been now the leading family of Furness, since the splendid quarries of Kirkby have been developed just above their old hall house.

* For some new light on the earliest generations of the family, see Farrer's *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, p. 403-5, 442, &c.

THE RIGBYS.

The Rigbys of Wigan, Burgh, and Middleton were all very closely related; the family of Burgh being a younger branch, which got a new grant of arms differing from the older arms of the family in 1573.* These are the arms on the picture of Edward Rigby. The Lancashire Rigbys took a prominent part in the civil wars, and they are found both on the side of King and Parliament. There were no less than three colonels of the name of Alexander: (1) Colonel Alexander Rigby, of Middleton, M.P. Wigan, Baron of the Exchequer, 1649 (Parliament); (2) his son Lieut.-Col. Alexander Rigby (Parliament); (3) Colonel Alexander Rigby, of Burgh, the son of Edward Rigby (in portrait No. 3) and brother of Jane Kirkby. This Colonel Rigby was a Royalist,† and in 1646 compounded for his estate at £381 3s. 4d.

THE KIRKBYS.

Of the first Roger Kirkby (our portrait No. 1) nothing is recorded, either by West or in the "Visitations," except his marriage, issue, and date of his death. He held, however, the post of High Sheriff for Lancashire in 1626,‡ and, as far as we know, fulfilled the quiet lot of a Furness squire. With his immediate descendants, however, things went differently. Roger Kirkby, his eldest son, was born in 1601,§ and seems to have been engaged in altering and building on his family estate in 1637 and 1639, since we find the initials of himself, his wife and family, and the Kirkby arms on a stone at Kirkby Hall, and in the walls at Low Hall (a mile away), which he probably built.‖

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* *Visitation of Lancashire*, by St. George, 1613, vol. lxxxii. Chetham Society *Transactions*, p. 113.

† See a *Cavalier's Note Book*, edited by Rev. T. Ellison Gibson, pp. 294-5.

‡ Baines' *Lancashire*, i., 206.

§ St. George's *Visitation, Lancashire*, 1613.

‖ See these *Transactions*, xiii., pp. 279, 285—"The Homes of the Kirkbys."

About the same time he was High Sheriff for his county.* In the "Long Parliament," summoned November 3, 1640, he was elected M.P. (Royalist), in company with Ralph Ashton, who was Parliamentary.†

The first stroke on the fortunes of the Kirkbys was in 1641, when Lord Newburgh, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was directed by Parliament to discharge from the Commission of the Peace such justices as were ill affected to the cause of Parliament, and among the names of those discharged was Roger Kirkby, while that of Thomas Fell (afterwards Judge Fell, whose widow Roger Kirkby's son was to persecute) appears among those to whom commissions were issued.‡ In the next year (December 10, 1642) he was appointed one of the collectors for Lonsdale Hundred of a subsidy to the King for raising troops;§ and among the Royalist gentlemen who assembled the same year at Preston we find the names of Alexander Rigby, of Burgh, and Roger Kirkby, the latter being also placed on the Council to arrange for the payment of Lancashire troops.|

In February, 1642-3, the Parliamentary forces, fresh from their success at Preston and Hoghton Tower, were in North Lancashire; and Captain Birch appeared before Lancaster and took the Castle without, it would appear, serious resistance. The *defenders* were Roger Kirkby and Sir John Girlington, both of whom escaped. Roger fled to Ireland, and there died in August of the same year, 1643.§

To this somewhat tragic finale of Roger there is appended a sequel. In May, 1643 (only a few months after capture of Lancaster), a force of 1,500 Royalists, with Sir

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* See list of High Sheriffs in Baines' *Lancashire* (year 1638); also *Calendar State Papers* (Domestic Series), 1638-9.

† Baines, ii., 4. Fishwick's *Lancashire*, 125—*Civil War Tracts*.

‡ October 24. Baines' *Lancashire* ii., 7.

§ *Civil War Tracts*.

| Baines (ii., 19) says "Robert Kirkby," which is an error.

§ West, and Dugdale's *Visitation*.

John Girlington among their leaders, entered Furness, plundered the district, and departed. The local parliamentary folks were not then in force sufficient to meet them. In September, the same year, another "affair" took place of a rather different character. Colonel Rigby, the Parliamentary officer, besieging Thurland, heard that 1,500 troops under Mr. Kirkby, Mr. Rigby (who I think would be Colonel Alexander of Burgh), Colonel Hudleston of Millom, and one of the Penningtons were misbehaving themselves near Dalton. Losing no time, the Colonel marched to Swarthmoor on October 1st, and said prayers; then he marched on to Lindal, and drew up opposite the Royalist force, whereon the two belligerent forces shouted at each other for about one hour. After this the Roundhead Foot marched up to the Cavalier Horse, who turned tail and fled "stomach to earth," leaving 300 prisoners behind them, including Hudleston and three important officers. Mr. Kirkby got off clear, like Roger at Lancaster, but who was he? West considered it would be Richard, but he would be then only eighteen years old, and I think it was most probably John Kirkby (brother of Roger), who afterwards died at Coniston. All this story, told originally by High Constable Park, has been retold in some detail by most writers on Furness. Colonel Rigby's own dispatch, printed by order of Parliament, shews that it was a clear rout of the Royalists, and that only two Parliamentary soldiers were hurt, and one of these wounded himself.*

* Colonel Rigby's dispatch is given in vol. ii. of the Chetham Society's publications (p. 149). It sets forth that during the siege of Thurland Castle "a Design was set on foote by all the malignant Gentry of Westmerland and Cumberland and by *Roger Kirkby* and *Alexander Kirkby* of the Burghe . . . . to raise all the Forces of Cartmel and Fournes to surprise Lancaster and Hornby Castles, etc." Now Thurland Castle was first taken June, 1643, but it was reoccupied by Girlington, and the second siege was in September. Whether Roger Kirkby fled to Ireland immediately after Lancaster Castle was taken, or remained in the district, does not seem on record, but even if he was, as Rigby said, implicated in the above design, he could not personally be present at the Lindal Moor skirmish if the date of his death is correctly given in Dugdale's *Visitation*. See also West's *Furness*, lii.; Tweddell, *Furness Past and Present*, ii., 50-51; *North Lonsdale Magazine*, April, 1896, an article "Furness in 1643."

Of this John Kirkby we shall have more to say, but we will turn for a moment to the widow and sisters of Roger who fled to Ireland and died there. We have now got to the period when Sir Daniel Fleming's correspondence and notes begin to illuminate the Kirkby household history; for Sir Daniel was a nephew of Roger and Jane, his mother having been Alice Kirkby.

Widow Agnes remained in Furness, or returned to it after her husband had died, if she fled with him to Ireland, a point we do not know. She is mentioned once in 1657 and she died in 1685, thus outliving her husband by forty years, and also his brother, and her eldest son Richard and three of his wives.

1657. Sept. 5. Given by my wife unto a man who brought veneson from my aunt Kirkby 00 02 06

1685. May 21. I was this day at the funeral of my aunt Mrs Agnes Kirkby, who dyed March 18th 1684, at her son William Kirkbys at Ashlack, and was buryed this day in the Chappel adjoyning to Kirkby Church.

Roger Kirkby, of whom we have been treating, had, besides his brother John, two sisters Margaret and Alice. Margaret married Hugh Anderton (Dugdale's *Visitation*), and we do not hear much of her. Alice married William Fleming, of Coniston, and it is from the papers of their son Daniel that we get many details about the Kirkbys. This William Fleming died in 1653, leaving his widow, who, with her brother John Kirkby, resided at Coniston Hall until both died within a few months of each other in 1680-1.

John Kirkby, like his family, espoused the Royalist cause, and I have suggested that it was probably he who appeared at the Lindal affair. This is the more likely, as we find him a sufferer when the Parliament was busy with the sequestration of the property of "Delinquents, Papists and others."

John Kirkby senior Kirkby

24 Nov 1646. Compounds for delinquency. Adhered to the

forces raised against Parliament. Took National Covenant 16 March 1645.

The sum at which he compounded being £36 5s. 4d. Though only a small sum this seems to have settled John, for I find him mixing up no more personally with politics.

The following papers exist in the Rydal Hall MSS. and accounts:—

June 22 1657. John Kirkby to his nephew D. F.

I have had some discourse with your cousin Kirkby concerning the "intended progress of hunting" of the Cumberland Gallants. When you go to Naworth, you may tell them that Sir William Huddleston's absence need not hinder their hunting at Millom. Your cousin Kirkby, who has command of the game in Sir William's absence, will show them all sport for the killing of a brace of bucks, and give them such accomodation as his little house will afford.

Ap. 6 1664 Mentioned the D F's accounts.

Feb. 17 1666-7 A political letter to his nephew Sir D F.

Oct. 16 1678. A letter from Coniston to D. F.

March 23 1679. Given at Parkhouse to my daughter Wilson's gracewife when her son Daniel Wilson was christened this day, who was borne the 8th instant, and whose sponsors were his great great uncle Mr John Kirkby, his great uncle Mr William Wilson, parson of Windermere, and his great grandmother Mrs Alice Fleming whose place was supplied by his aunt Mrs Alice Fleming

00 05 00

This last is from Sir Daniel's accounts, where also we find entries about the deaths of John Kirkby and his mother Alice Fleming.

1680 Sept 29. My uncle John Kirkby did fall sick, September 15th. He dyed at Coniston Hall, September 28th about 4 in the morning and was buryed September 29th in Coniston Church, about one of the clock and I had not the happ to see him dureing his sickness.

A letter of Sir George Fletcher to Daniel Fleming on October 3, 1680, says, "I believe that Mr. Kirkby died of the disease which is so prevalent at Richmond and in Yorkshire. It is not generally fatal to old people."

In an entry of February 26, 1680-1, Sir Daniel records

hearing of his mother's being ill, and the next entry records her death that day and burial next to her brother:—

Mr John Brathwait preaching her funeral sermon upon 1 Tim. 5, 9, and 10, and applying it very well to her.

In Coniston Church is a brass plate commemorative to John Kirkby and his sister Alice, the inscription on which is as follows:—

To the Liveing Memory of ALICE FLEMING of Coningston-Hall in the County Palatine of Lancaster Widow (late Wife of William Fleming of Coningston-Hall aforesaid Esqr; and eldest daughter of Roger Kirkby of Kirkby in the said County Esqre) and of John Kirkby Gentleman her second Brother was this Monument by her three sorrowful sons Sr Daniel Fleming Knight Roger Fleming and William Fleming gentlemen, for their dear Mother and Uncle here erected. The said John Kirkby (having lived above 30 yeares with his sister aforesaid, and having given to the Churches and Poor of Kirkby and Coningston aforesaid 150£) died a Bachelor at Coningston-Hall aforementioned September 28 A.D. 1680, and was buried near unto this place the next day: And the said Alice Fleming died also (having outlived her late Husband above 27 yeares and suruiued 5 of her 8 children) at Coningston-Hall aforesaid Febry 26 A.D. 1680, and was buried in this Church, close by her said Brother Febr 28 1680, in the same Grave where ye Lady Bold (second wife of John Fleming Esqre deceased, uncle to ye said William Fleming Esqr) had about 55 yeares before been interred.

Epitaph

Spectator stay, and view this sacred ground
See it contains such Loue, on Earth scarce found,
A BROTHER and a SISTER, and you see
She seeks to find him in Mortality—
First he did leave us; then she stay'd & try'd
To live without him, lik'd it not and dy'd
Here they ly buried, whose Religious Zeal
Appeard sincere to Prince, Church, Commonweal;
Kind to their Kindred, Faithful to their Friends,
Clear in their Lives and Chearful to their ends.
They both were Dear to them whose good intent
Makes them both liue in this one Monument.
So Dear in Cordial Loue, tho' th' outward part
Turne Dust it holds impression to the Heart.

We now pass to the next generation, the five sons and eight daughters of Roger and Agnes Kirkby.

And first as to Richard Kirkby, the son and heir and squire, whose portrait I have identified as No. 5. To begin with, this Richard was not, as West has stated, Governor of Chester Castle, an error which has been repeated by most subsequent writers. It was his son who obtained this post, as we shall later see. But Richard was the Colonel Kirkby who so often appears as the inveterate enemy of George Fox and Margaret Fell; and his support of the Royal cause, and probably other circumstances, brought him as we shall see to the verge of ruin.

Another point which wants clearing is the statement by Stockdale* and others that this Richard was Member of Parliament. This appears to have arisen from a letter of George Fox stating that Colonel Kirkby had to go up to London to the Parliament,† which Stockdale altered to "Parliamentary duties." The date of that letter was 1663, at which time Lancashire was represented by Sir Roger Bradshaw and Edward Stanley, who had been elected in 1661. I can find no other allusion to Richard Kirkby as having sat for Parliament, and the probability is that he was called up to give evidence in some enquiry before the House.

Colonel Kirkby is known as a prominent Lancashire man after the Restoration, but chiefly for his activity in carrying out the enactments of the stringent and harsh Conventicle Act of 1664 and 1676, under which, as Justice of the Peace, he was empowered to break up the meetings called by the founders of the sect of "Friends." The extracts which follow are mostly from the Rydal MSS. and the *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic Series, 1640-1690), while many of the details of the collisions between

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* *Annales Cærmoelenses*, p. 93.

† *Furness and Cartmel Notes*, by Dr. H. Barber, p. 218.

Kirkby, Fox, and Mrs. Fell are gathered from Mrs. Webb's *The Fells of Swarthmoor Moor*.

Though it was probably John Kirkby who ran at Lindal with the other Cavaliers, Richard, then eighteen years of age, may have been there as well. However this may be, he next turns up as a "malignant" compounder in 1646, in which year he would be twenty-one.

7 August 1646. Rich Kirkby compounds for delinquency in bearing arms under the Earl of Newcastle. Being under age, has only an estate in reversion till he attains the age of 24. The present estate is vested in trustees for raising 11 younger children's portions.

24 Nov. Fine at ⅛ 751£ to be reduced to 250£ on his settling 50£ a year for ever on the ministry of Hawkshead.

1647. To be sequestered for neglecting to settle this.

5 July 1649 Fine for both delinquencies 750£ remitted on his settling 76£ a year on the ministry.

The meaning of all which is that the Kirkbys had bought the tithes of Hawkshead in 1618, and as the Commissioners could not get the fines out of the Kirkby estate they ordered him to pay the tithe he was receiving to the Church. However, even this payment got hopelessly into arrears.*

In 1650 a settlement of Colonel Kirkby's estate was made, the contracting parties being Richard Kirkby, his wife Elizabeth, Sir John Lowther, David Murray of St. Clement Danes, John Kirkby, Agnes Kirkby (mother of the Colonel), and others; and the estate is described as being at Kirkby, Ulverston, and Hawkshead. This deed is in Kendal Museum.

The only commission of Colonel Richard Kirkby I have come across is:—

1669 Dec 29. Col Rich. Kirkby to be Capt of the Company of foot in the Duke of Albemarle (late Sir Freschevill Hollis').†

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* See *Survey of Church Lands*, 1649, and my *Hawkshead*, p. 116.

† *Calendar State Papers*, October, 1668-December, 1669, (Domestic Series). Also *English Army Lists and Commissions*, 1664-1714, ed. by C. Dalton (vol. i., 1661-1685).

Of Richard Kirkby's four wives only three are mentioned by Dugdale, and of all these ladies we practically know nothing but their names. Looking at the character of their husband, I doubt if their lot was a happy one. Of three of his brothers and his eight sisters also, little is recorded; but William of Ashlack Hall, the fourth brother, was, according to West, Surveyor General of the Customs and frequently appears on the scene. Ashlack Hall, by the bye, though added to by this William, must have been built early in the seventeenth century either by Roger (died 1627) or his son; but I have seen no evidence of any member of the family living there before William.

1651 Aug 11 Roger Fleming to his brother Daniel at Oxford concerning the engagement of their cousin Eleanor Kirkby and a merchant from Holland.—Rydal MS.

The merchant was one of the rich Hull Crowles, and his letters from Kingston on Hull almost invariably treat of the "runletts" of sack and gallons of Malaga he is forwarding to the Flemings and others. The family of Crowle also intermarried with the Wilsons of Dallam Tower, and afterwards purchased the Leybourne estates at Cunswick and Skelsmergh.

The next entries in date undoubtedly refer to the festivities at the birth of the first son by the second wife of Colonel Richard (*i.e.*, Isabel Hudleston). This son was seven at Dugdale's Visitation (16 September, 1664), and was therefore born in 1656.

1656	Dec 14	Given by my wife unto my Lord Evars for fidling at Kirkby Hall	00 . 01 . 06
	Dec 15	Lost by my wife at Cards	00 . 05 . 00
		Lost by myselfe	00 . 00 . 08
	Dec 17	For frosting the horses at Kirkby ...	00 . 00 . 06
165⅞	Jan 21	Given unto Mrs Pennington—as a grace wife—at Kirkby	00 . 10 . 00
		Delivered more unto her for to give unto my Ant Anderton to buy cheese withal	01 . 00 . 00

		Given unto the nourse at Kirkby ...	00 . 05 . 00
		Lost there at Cards	00 . 06 . 00
1658	Aug 9	Given unto Hunter who brought a buck from my Cosen Richard Kirkby	00 . 03 . 00

—(Sir D. F.'s Accounts).

1660. In this year the newly-restored King proposed to found the Order of Knights of the Royal Oak as a special reward to about six hundred and ninety gentlemen, who had stood by, and suffered for, the Crown. The order was never, however, instituted. Among the Lancashire gentlemen nominated was "Colonel Kirkby, Esq.," estimated value of estate, £1,500.

In 1661 we find the Colonel again a widower, and married for the third time, only, it would appear, about six years after the marriage with his second.

1661.	Mar 29.	Given in the house att the Low-barne when I went to visitt my Cosen Kirkby's third wife...	00 . 04 . 00
	— 30.	Item at the high hall	00 . 03 . 00
		Item given to players there... ...	00 . 05 . 00
		Item to the nurse there	00 . 01 . 00
	May 22	Given to the players att Kirkby and a piper	00 . 06 . 00
	25	Payd yesterday att Kirkby unto my Cosen Crowl for a runlett of sack, and another of white wine for carriage etc. beeinge in full of all reckoning till this day	04 . 11 . 04

—(Sir D. F's Accounts).

The occasion of these festivities was not, improbably, the bringing home of Colonel Kirkby's wife Helena Moxey (or Maxey), since her only child Greville was, in 1664, aged two (Dugdale's *Visitation*.

1662-3. February. A grant was made to Richard Kirkby of all woods and trees on the Barony of Kendal not fit for shipbuilding.* To this grant there are several

* *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic Series).

other references, and it is probable that it was intended as some sort of recognition of the family's help to the Stuart cause.

At this period commences the story of the sufferings of Margaret Fell and George Fox, in which we get frequent glimpses of the rancour with which Colonel Kirkby regarded the sect. The story has been so often told, that I shall only gather together the evidence of his activity. Of course it is easy to see that the magistracy, and especially those gentlemen who had suffered under the sequestrations of 1646, were anything but disinterested in these acts of cruelty. The Acts they took advantage of, decreed the confiscation of property, and the imprisonment of recusants who refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The Flemings and the Kirkbys knew that the almost fanatical strictness of the Quakers forbade them to take these oaths, and the plunder they had in view was the valuable Swarthmoor property that Margaret Fell held from her late husband, Judge Fell. Colonel Kirkby would remember how his father had been ejected from the office of Justice at the same time Judge Fell was put on the Commission; he would remember that he was also one of the Parliamentary sequestrators, aud he was not the man to feel any compunction in pushing the law to its extremity, even against a helpless widow.

What makes his conduct even more heartless is the fact that Margaret Fell was born at Marsh Grange, being the daughter of John Askew of that place, and therefore was not only a widow but a near neighbour of his own, since Marsh Grange is less than three miles, as the crow flies, from Kirkby Hall.

The first notice of Kirkby's appearance on the scene seems to have been in 1663, when, as a letter of George Fox tells us, he had sent soldiers to Swarthmoor to search in boxes and trunks for him. Thereupon, or rather a few days later, Fox made his way to Kirkby to interview the Colonel himself, where he found him " with the Flemings

and several others of the gentry (so called) of the county"; and on this occasion Kirkby seems to have spoken reasonably, simply warning him that the meetings were illegal; and on parting shook hands with Fox, saying he had nothing against him.*

Kirkby soon after came to Swarthmoor, and with him William Kirkby† (who must have been his brother of Ashlack), and took down the names of all at the meeting; and Margaret Fell was haled off to a special sessions at Ulverston, where the magistrates present were Colonel Kirkby, Fleming of Rydal, and Preston of Holker. This resulted in her committal to Lancaster Gaol to await the assizes.

1663 Nov. 3 Colonel Kirkby to Williamson (from Garstang) Hears of disturbances in Yorks. Wants a rule for soldiers diet; 3d. a meal is not enough. At sessions have made an example of an anabaptist and two sturdy quakers fining them 12d.‡

All the weary time that George Fox and Margaret Fell lay in prison, Kirkby seems to have got his knife into them. It was at his instigation or instructions that Fox was kept in solitary confinement at Lancaster in a miserable cell, with unglazed windows, awaiting his trial,§ and it was he who gave the jailor orders to keep him close and suffer no flesh to come near him, for his was not fit to be discoursed with. ||

Margaret Fell's second trial came on in September, 1664; but it should be noticed that although the Conventicle Act was then in force, it was not so in 1663, when Kirkby commenced his persecution.

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* Fox seems to have left two rather different accounts of this interview,—see Barber, *Furness and Cartmel Notes*, p. 218; and Maria Webb, *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 209.

† So writes Stockdale, who says this William was "of Adgarley, half brother to the Colonel," which is absurd, and shews the hopeless muddle Stockdale was in.

‡ *Calendar of State Papers.*

§ *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 216.

|| Stockdale, pp. 103-4.

In the account of this famous trial, the bravery of this unfortunate lady brought her into direct conflict with Kirkby, for seeing him lean over and speak to Judge Turner, she said "No whispering: I should not have so many judges. If thou has anything, Colonel Kirkby, to lay to my charge come down here and testify against me. Here is one Judge [who has a right to judge the case]. He represents the King's person and his power, and that I own." At the same examination she complained that the prisons were not fit for habitation, and when Kirkby stood up to excuse this—

I spake to him and said, "If you were to lie in it yourselves (that is Kirkby and the Judge) you would find it hard; but your minds are set on cruelty—William Kirkby hath here committed ten of our Friends, and put them into a cold room with nothing but bare boards to lie on . . . . . some of them ancient men above three score years of age." *

At this trial Judge Turner passed sentence of *præmunire* against her, which meant imprisonment for life and confiscation of all her property. On the same day George Fox had a similar sentence, and they remained in prison nearly five years. There are, however, letters from them while in prison, and some of these mention Colonel Kirkby; and there are also other references.

1664. October 1. Daniel Fleming, writing to Williamson from Rydal, says there have been sharp encounters lately between Colonel Kirkby and some Quakers who conventicled at Mrs. Fell's house *since* she was convicted of a *præmunire;* † and Margaret Fell herself, in a letter from Lancaster Gaol to the Rous family, writes:—

Colonel Kirkby causes our bonds to be renewed and straitened. ‡

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* *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 220. From this it appears that William Kirkby of Ashlack was then a Justice, though I have found no other reference to his so acting at this date. An entry in the Rydal MSS. shews he was so in 1674 (Rydal MS., p. 108). He signed an order to distrain on Non-attendants of Church at Hawkshead, 1683, and he was "put out" in 1687.

† *Calendar of State Papers.*

‡ *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 226.

1664. Jan 20. Margaret Fell to Colonel Kirkby. A letter of two pages, reproaching the Colonel for persecuting the Quakers after saying he had nothing against George Fox. Reproves him for his severity and meanness. "His brother told her this was but the beginning of what was intended against them." *

George Fox and Margaret Fell were married in 1669 at Bristol, but during their imprisonment it seems that George Fell, Mrs. Fell's son, was scheming to obtain the Swarthmoor property, and frequently was in communication with Colonel Kirkby and others. There is a petition as early as 1664-5 (January) to the King for this purpose:

for the estate of his mother forfeited because she has run herself into a *præmunire* for embracing the fanatic opinions of the Quakers;

which is followed by a certificate of Sir R. Bradshaigh and Richard Kirkby in favour of the petitioner as favouring the Restoration, and doing his utmost to persuade his mother, etc. It has been even suggested that he abetted in getting her recommitted under the second Conventicle Act.

The reason of Kirkby's thus helping George Fell may well have been that he had made some arrangement with him, for he was already beginning to be in low water and anxious to raise money somehow.

1666 (?) Petition of Richard Kirkby. For payment of 500£ or part lent by his father in law Dr Thomas Eden on privy seal to the late King and come to him in right of his wife; is much reduced by great sufferings and vast expense in his majestys service. †

This gives us the surname of his fourth wife.

1667 Decr. Petition of Sir Jordan Crosland, Sir Thomas Higgins, Colonel Richard Kirkby and — Prideaux to the King. Have served faithfully as Commissioners of Prizes, but were left out when the number was reduced; beg a share, above their ordinary salary in the County which his majesty granted to those who remained in. ‡

* *Calendar of State Papers.* The date must be January, 1664-5, *i.e.*, after the trial in September, 1664.

† *Calendar of State Papers.*

‡ Idem.

Yet he was still hunting the Quakers in 1670, for we find John Rous writing in July:—

I perceive Colonel Kirkby is the informer and that he still appears on all occasions very much opposed.*

And the same year George Fox writing after describing the fresh persecutions of his sect—

Amongst others that were active in this cruel persecution at London, was my old adversary Colonel Kirkby, who would often enquire for me at the meetings he broke up. †

Margaret Fox was released again after twelve months, from Lancaster, in April, 1671, and her husband soon after went to the West Indies. That there was some sort of intercourse, not altogether unfriendly, between some of the Kirkbys and Mrs. Fox, is shewn by an entry in Sarah Fell's book of accounts, in 1673. ‡

By money given to a man that brought a haunch of venison William Kirkby sent mother... ... 0 . 1 . 6

This entry seems to have been made when George Fox was in Worcester Gaol, into which he was clapped almost immediately on his return to England. At the end of 1674, he was released and visited Swarthmoor (for the first time since he had married) in 1675 or 1676; upon which, as Mrs. Webb tells us,

the surrounding gentry courteously called to pay their respects . . . . . to the master of Swarthmoor Hall. Even Colonel Kirby *(sic)* his old persecutor, presented himself. §

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* *The Fells of Swarthmoor*, p. 264.

† *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 270. In the *Calendar of State Papers* is "1670, July 3. Notice by George Harris.—"Being proprietor of this house, I desire all persons to forbear further meddling with anything in it, or creating a disturbance, etc.," being found by Colonel Kirkby on the post of the door of the Conventicle House, in Aldersgate Street."

‡ *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 273.

§ *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, pp. 291-293.

What was the meaning of this change of front on the part of these haughty Kirkbys towards this poor hunted couple? *The Calendar of State Papers* supplies, I think, the answer. Kirkby was reduced partly, no doubt, by the troubles, but partly, perhaps, by his own course of life to a condition approaching penury. The chances of pickings out of the Swarthmoor estate were as far off as ever, and he was hunting Royal favours to set him on his legs again.

Sept 11. 1674. Grays Inn. Letter from Col. Richard Kirkby to (Secretary) Williamson. Being unable by reason of my confinement to this place to pay my respects . . . . I beg to represent my sad condition . . . . being forced to keep house for fear of my creditors, and my pay being half assigned towards their discharge. I am pinched most horribly, and myself and family are in the greatest distress imaginable. I have written to the Duke of Monmouth to procure me some small boon from his Majesty, and leave to dispose of my commission. I must beg you to have me in your memory, if you see any fit time to insinuate it into his Grace's ear for without some present help of my friends I am utterly ruined.

Sept 14. 1674. From the same to the same. "I have neither money nor credit, nor shall shortly have clothes. If his majesty will now order me my whole pay, if he shall not otherwise dispose of me to some employment, I shall make shift to serve him. I am become the wonder of my relations and friends, who know how kindly he promised to make me his care, as well as with what vast expense, as with affection and loyalty I have served him. I am ashamed to see them, more to trouble them, since they cannot but think I have in some way provoked him. I beseech your counsel and assistance that my ready observance may convince you that with justice I may pretend to my sovereign's kindness, for I have ventured my life, spent my estate, and ruined my children already for him! Surely either in the Navy, Excise or Customs an employment may fall for me ere long."

Sept 16 1674 A letter from the same to the same. The writer thanks him for favours expecially "yours of 15th" and wishes "I might serve you as your menial servant." He has besought the Duke of Monmouth who promised with Lord Arlington to do what they could. "I have stayed till ready to starve." The Chanceller of the Duchy has advised him to draw a petition to his Majesty, and

"to move you to present it. He would with your honour second it . . . . . If anything amiss I beseech you to expunge it."

The same month September. Petition to the King for an order for a present subsistance for the petitioner till his Majesty shall otherwise provide for him . . . . . he being reduced to such want and extremity that he is ashamed to express.*

One does not know whether to dispise or pity him. What Kirkby got as an appointment I do not know.

His eldest son we shall hear more of; but the Colonel himself seems to disappear from public life. Possibly his health suddenly failed: at any rate I have found no reference in the Rydal MS. or *Calendar of State Papers* after 1676, until—

1681 Sept 10. Given in the house at Kirkby Hall—being at the funeral of Collonel Richard Kirkby, who dyed there September 9, 1681, about 8 of the clock at night and was buryed in Kirkby Church the next day between his first and second wives, his third wife being buryed at London, and his fourth wife being at his funerall

the sum of 00 . 05 . 06

—(Sir D. Fleming's accounts.)

Thus Colonel Kirkby died at the early age of fifty-six, after a turbulent and feverish life—the life of a man at once ambitious, unfeeling, and mean. So he passes off the stage and we know him no more, unless by our portrait which, I think, looks the character. George Fox drew up a summary of the misfortunes that befell all his tormentors; and as he said, "Colonel Kirkby never prospered after." One cannot help wishing one had more details about his wives, for I suspect he was actually married four times in about eighteen years—1648 to 1666.

* There are also several other letters from Kirkby to Sir Daniel Fleming, or *vice versa*, dated June and July of 1674, and therefore just before the above. The published abstracts do not shew any reference to the Quaker question nor his own misfortunes. They shew, however, that he was in Lancashire in June and July about commissions for deputy Lieutenants and military musters. There is a letter of William Fleming, on July 1, referring to the "Muster Master s" certificate that "all or most part of the arms belonging to Colonel Kirkby's Regiment of Foot are defective," and ordering the constables of Coniston to provide proper pikes, muskets, bandeleers, etc. The latest letter about alehouse licenses is July 6. 1676. (See vol. of Rydal MSS., pp. 112j 113, 123, 127-8, 385.)

We now pass to the period after Richard Kirkby's death, of which we have some details. Concerning Roger Kirkby, who succeeded him, we know enough to shew that he was a more successful man than his father. He married but once, and his political opinions and life seem to have been what one would expect from his bringing up, although there is nothing to indicate the same bigotry which his father had shewn. In 1670, January 4, he was appointed Ensign in the Earl of Craven's Regiment of Coldstream Guards; 1673, June 19, Ensign to Captain Bartue in the same; 1673, September 11, Ensign to Captain Motlow (or Mutlow) in the same; 1678, February 16, Captain from the Coldstreams to be Captain in Sir Charles Wheeler's Regiment of Foot.* In 1689 he is mentioned as Colonel,† and 1693 appointed Governor of the City and Castle of Chester [H.O. *Military Entry Book* ii., p. 328]. He was High Sheriff of Lancashire, 1708, the year in which he died.

Some interesting letters are contained in the Rydal MSS., describing the result of the visit of the Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire to the county town in 1687, in order to get the answers of the gentry of the county to the interrogatories for finding out who of them would be in favour of removing the Penal Laws and Tests, one of James II.'s measures, in the hope of restoring the Catholic faith and admitting Catholics to Parliament. The answers generally throughout the country were against the repeal of these Acts, except in Lancashire, which was strongly Catholic. The letters are three in number—from Thomas Braithwaite, Edward Wilson, and Roger Fleming, all to Sir Daniel Fleming. The first writer says:—

The first that was asked the question was honest John Girlington whose suddain answer was that he would have those laws damned

* *Calendar of State Papers* and Dalton's *English Army Lists and Commissions.*

† As he is mentioned in 1688 as Captain Kirkby, then at Rydal, his commission as Colonel must have been in 1688 or 1689.

with the contrivers of them. Several others were plainly consenting, as trusty Captaine (Roger) Kirkby, who waited on my Lord in Preston and there declared himself freely.

William Kirkby also was among those who consented, though he was a Protestant, as appears by Roger Fleming's letter; and met Lord Molyneux at Lancaster and dined with him, he being the only Protestant who did so.* Edward Wilson, who had married a daughter of Sir Daniel, and whose mother was a sister of Colonel Richard Kirkby, added in his letter that they heard that Cousin Richard Kirkby had lately unfortunately killed a man—one Crofts, whose father was Captain-Lieutenant to the Duke of Berwick. This was Richard, the eldest son of the second wife of Colonel Richard Kirkby; and must be the Colonel Richard Kirkby who presented to Kirkby Church in 1698 a silver plate, inscribed "taken from the French who had (just before) plundered Cartagena in New Spain."†

Five years earlier, however, than the letters last quoted, "Trusty Captaine" Kirkby and William the Protestant (of Ashlack) were at work at the old amusement of squashing conventicles. I have before me copies of distress warrants made in January, 1684, containing long lists of fines inflicted on the attendants at coventicles at Swarthmoor Hall and a house at Wray near Hawkshead, held in the previous November and December. These warrants are signed by Roger Kirkby. Another warrant is to the Hawkshead churchwardens to collect the fines from about sixty parishioners who failed to attend church for three Sundays in September, 1683, and this document is signed by both Roger and William. The hereditary instinct was still alive.

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* His name also occurs in a list of Justices put out of the commission of the peace before the summer assizes, 1687 (Rydal MS.).

† *Old Church Plate in Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 272.

In the pedigree entered by Dugdale in 1664, the only brothers of Colonel Richard Kirkby recorded are John, Roger, and William. But West mentions a fifth brother, Christopher, who died without issue. This Christopher, perhaps, is identical with Corporal Christopher Kirkby mentioned in a letter of Christopher Philipson in 1680,* as having been employed mine prospecting in Scotland; at that date he must have been about forty years old. However this may be, "Cousin" Christopher Kirkby mentioned by Roger Fleming as in London, 1689,† is certainly the son of Colonel Richard, although I have not met any local reference to him.

* *Hist. MS. Commission*, Rydal volume, p. 176.
† *Idem*, 265.

ART. III.—*Two "Old Masters"—the Crankes of Urswick.*

By HARPER GAYTHORPE, F.S.A.Scot.

Read at Carlisle, April 27th, 1905.

IN spite of its beautiful scenery our district has not produced many artists; and of several who are worth remembering, if only for the sake of identifying their pictures, the accounts are scanty and unsatisfactory.

The short biographies of the two artists, James Cranke, father and son, that have appeared, contain errors of fact and date sufficient to justify the present attempt to rewrite their lives from materials which I have been able to put together. In Samuel Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists of the English School* (1874, and 2nd edit., 1878) the two are confused. The entry is as follows:—

> Cranke, James, Portrait Painter. He practised in London where he enjoyed some repute about 1750: and was from 1755 to his death an occasional Exhibitor at the Royal Academy. He died at Urswick, near Ulverston, in 1780, Aged 73. (P. 105.)

Here "1755" is evidently a mistake for 1775, and refers to J. Cranke the younger. No portraits by either of the Crankes were exhibited at the Royal Academy before 1775.

In Graves's *Dictionary of Artists* the two are represented as one person, and it is stated that Cranke of London exhibited twelve portraits at the Royal Academy between 1775 and 1800. There were eleven pictures only exhibited by James Cranke, junior—the last in 1799.

In Beamont's *Memoir of James Cranke, junior* (Warrington, 1883), the elder of the name is described as his uncle instead of as his father.

There are notices also in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (xiii., 17), in Walbran's *History of Gainford*

(pp. 11, 31, 43, 92, 93), and in the *Sedbergh School Register* (pp. 146, 213). But all these later writers do not appear to have known of the more reliable memoirs by the Rev. F. Evans in *Furness and Furness Abbey* (1842, pp. 145, 146), and by C. M. Jopling in *Furness and Cartmel* (1843, pp. 187, 188), so that the work of the elder James Cranke has been overlooked, though it was known to Romney and to his brother Peter, also an artist. The latter associates Cranke's style in 1766 with that of Hudson, the master of Reynolds, and the most fashionable portrait painter of his time (*Life of George Romney*, by his son, pp. 277-279, 298).

For about 300 years the name of Cranke has been known at Urswick. It may have been derived from the village of Crank or Grank in the parish of Rainford, South Lancashire. In 1581 the name of Alice Crancke appears in the parish register of Wigan, and in 1631 we find Anne Cranke, daughter of Henrie and Isabell Cranke of Little Urswick. Thenceforward, members of the family at Urswick are recorded as artists, clergymen, and yeomen; or during the last 100 years as occupying positions of trust as steward for the liberty of Furness, or as agents or receivers for the Earl of Derby. Indeed, it is possible that the family came to Furness in the service of the Stanleys, for the first Earl of Derby acquired the manor of Bolton with Adgarley late in the fifteenth, or early in the sixteenth century.

James Cranke of Little Urswick, the father of the elder artist, is described as a householder. He lived at what was then a farmhouse, but is now a cottage, adjoining "Greenbank," and he was buried at Urswick on May 20th, 1737. His son James Cranke, the elder artist, was born at the farmhouse, and baptised at the church on the eve of St. John the Baptist, June 23rd, 1707. It is interesting to note that the font in which he was baptised has recently (January, 1905) been replaced in the church through the influence of the vicar, the Rev. T. N. Postlethwaite and

by the kindness of the Earl of Derby, after having been for over half a century in the garden at "Hawkfield."

James Cranke doubtless attended the ancient Free Grammar School on the high side of the village green, under the Rev. Henry Holme; but there is little in the surroundings to explain his early love for art. Judging by the number of inhabited houses, the villages were then four times as populous as they were in 1805, and country life was not without movement and culture. The wandering portrait painter visited the houses of the rich; Bishop Nicolson in 1715 (these *Transactions*, N.S., v., p. 6) notes how Mr. Fryer painted his portrait at Rose Castle, and no doubt young Cranke had the opportunity of watching some such practitioner at work.

The Rev. F. Evans, in his brief notice of the painter, says that "having evinced a taste for painting from his early youth, and made several attempts in the art which he had chosen for his profession in his native district, he went up to London when a young man, where, by his diligence and assiduity, he got into notice, was employed at the Old Academy in St. Martin's Lane, and gradually obtained both fame and emolument as a portrait painter." I have been unable to trace any example of the work he did before he left Furness, except perhaps the portraits of his father, who died in 1737, and his mother, who died in 1741. It is possible that his connection with the Old Academy was facilitated by the fact that Hogarth, who founded it and removed it to St. Martin's Lane in 1738, was by descent a compatriot, for, though born in London, Hogarth's father was a Westmorland man.

At that period the artist in London had little prospect of "emolument," and James Cranke could hardly have made a fortune by his pencil. I believe that he did so by a happy and successful marriage. About the year 1744, being then 37 years of age, he married Miss Elizabeth Essex, whose age was 30 or 31. She was the daughter of J. Essex, Esq., who represented a family of some rank. I

have failed to trace more of this lady's history than that she was born in 1713, and was buried at Urswick on October 18th, 1791, having survived her husband eleven years. The crest of this Essex family, engraved on silver plate, still in the possession of Mr. Malachi J. Cranke of Urswick, is the same as that of the Essex family of Lambourn in Berkshire—namely, an eagle's head or, in the mouth a hawk's leg erased at the thigh, gules. We seem to get a glimpse of her in looking over a catalogue of books in the library at their house at Little Urswick in 1756. Many of the books catalogued have notes added in a feminine hand, which is not unlikely to be that of Mrs. Cranke. Among these are *Miller's Gardener's Dictionary*, Cowley's *Works* (best Edition with *ye Cutter of Coleman Street*), *Thomson's Seasons* (large paper, with "cutts design^{d} by Kent grav^{d} by Ravenet"), *Gay's Fables* ("with cutts," large paper), *Bickerstaff's Lucubrations* (large paper), *Fables for the Female Sex, Gentleman instructed, Instructions for the Education of Children, Compleat Housewife, Ladies' Conduct, Ladies' Dictionary, Ladies' Calling, Education of a Daughter,* (by the author of *Telemachus)*, French Common* Prayer, French Grammar,† *Chalcography* (by Evelin, "with ye 1st Mettzo^{t} by Prince Rupert, a fine head, very rare").

About the year 1744 we find them living in Bloomsbury Square, then the most fashionable part of the west end of London. While there four children were born to them—John, James, Elizabeth, and Ann, whose baptisms are all recorded at St. George's Church, Hart Street, Bloomsbury. The baptism of the fifth child, Lucy, has not been traced; but two others are recorded after the Crankes left London. The entries are as follows:—

John Cranke,	born Feb. 6,	bapt. Feb. 26,	1745.
James Crank (*sic*)	— Feb. 21,	— Mar. 9,	1746.
Elizabeth Crank	— Mar. 6,	— Mar. 29,	1747.
Ann Crank	— Sept. 8,	— Oct. 4,	1749.

(The above at London.)

* Written Comon in original. † Written Gramar in original.

Lucy Crank, born Jan. 10, 1751.
(Place not recorded.)
Malachi Cranke, born Aug. 25, bapt. Oct. 1, 1752.
(Baptised at Ulverston.)
William Cranke, born July 16, bapt. Sept. 21, 1755.
(Baptised at Urswick.)

In 1752 James Cranke, with his wife and family, had returned to Furness, for we find that the sixth child, Malachi, was born at "ye Hodge Puddle," August 25th, 1752, the baptism being recorded in the Ulverston parish register. The house in which he was born was in all probability that which is now known as Stockbridge House. It belonged to the Pennington family, and formerly had a main entrance from "ye Hodge Puddle," now Stockbridge Lane. James Cranke the elder evidently came to Ulverston for a short time only, for in 1755 his seventh and last child was born at Little Urswick in a new house which he had built there, now known as "Greenbank." This is a substantial, roomy house of stone, with ceilings 10 feet high to the hall and principal rooms, which are panelled and supported by oak beams on the first and second floor. The oaken spars which support the roof are split, not sawn, and fixed with oaken pegs. There are good cellars under the drawing and dining rooms, and formerly a well was in the cellar. At the back of the house is an excellent garden. The older house which adjoins "Greenbank" at one time was connected with and added to the newer house. The stone troughs at the back of the older house and the rounded chimney stacks point, in the absence of a dated stone, to a seventeenth century thatched building.

At the new house built by James Cranke (says the Rev. F. Evans), he "successfully pursued his business in the surrounding country for thirty years," and "spent the close of his life in a serene and happy retirement, surrounded by an affectionate family, and respected by his neighbours as a man of blameless character as well as a

PORTRAIT OF JAMES CRANKE, Senior, by himself,
in the possession of Mr. R. O'Neill Pearson of Ulverston.

Photo. by S. B. Gaythorpe. TO FACE P. 132.

UNIV. OF MICH.

PORTRAIT OF JAMES CRANKE, Senior, by himself,
in the possession of Mr. Patrickson of Scales.

Photo. by S. B. Gaythorpe. TO FACE P. 133.

UNIV. OF MICH.

man of genius." Such of his paintings as I have been able to trace are given in the following list. In the absence of dates I have placed them in the order in which I think they would have been painted, Nos. 1 and 2 being probably executed before he went to London.

1.—Portrait of his Father, 28½ × 25 inches (not sold).*
2.—Portrait of his Mother, 28½ × 25 inches (not sold).
3.—Portrait of the late Mrs. Cranke after Vandyke's picture of Rubens' wife, 50 × 39 inches (now at Lund Hall, Ulverston).
4.—Portrait of the Rev. J. Cranke when a boy, 48 × 39 inches (sold to Mr. J. Coward, J.P.).
5.—Portrait of Wm. Cranke when a boy, after Van Houghton's style, 58 × 46 inches (sold to Mr. Edmund Mackereth).
6.—Portrait of Lieut.-Col. Peter Lee (sold to Mr. W. Wilson).
7.—Portrait of the Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt, Prime Minister (sold to Mr. R. Everson, Kendal).
8.—Portrait of the late Mrs. Cranke, 49 × 39 inches (sold to Mr. G. H. Mackereth, Ulverston).
9.—Portrait of James Cranke, senior, by himself, 50 × 39 inches (sold to Mr. G. Patrickson).
10.—Portrait of J. Essex, Esq., father of Mrs. Cranke (not sold).
11.—Portrait of the Artist by himself, 30 × 24 inches (sold to Mr. R. O'Neill Pearson).
12.—Portrait of Dr. Leech, 33 × 27 inches (sold to Mr. J. Coward, J.P.).
13.—A miniature of Mrs. Cranke (sold to Dr. Holmes of Barrow).
14.—Fruit, 30 × 24 inches (sold to Mr. G. Patrickson of Scales).

In addition to these are the following portraits in Yorkshire and Westmorland, painted by J. Cranke the elder. These are described by the editor of the *Lonsdale Magazine* in 1821 (vol. 2, p. 284) as a good series of family portraits; and those at Dallam Tower are associated with other pictures by Romney, Bartolozzi, Hudson, and Gardner of Kendal.

At Dallam Tower are:—

1.—Portrait of Colonel George Wilson of Dallam Tower (who rebuilt Abbot Hall in 1759).
2.—Portrait of Mrs. Wilson, wife of the above.

* At the sale which took place in Ulverston, September 17th, 1902.

At Gisburn Park, Yorkshire, in January, 1822:—

1.—Portrait of Thomas Lister, Esq. (d. 1761), father of Lord Ribblesdale (b. 1752).
2.—Portrait of Beatrix, his daughter.
3.—Portrait of Beatrix Hulton of Hulton, mother of Lord Ribblesdale, and himself, as an infant.

The editor of the *Lonsdale Magazine* remarks on this picture:—"There is something exceedingly noble and commanding in the lady's countenance, and an expression we have seldom seen." Vol. 3, p. 3).

The four portraits I have seen—those of John and William, of Dr. Leech, and the miniature of Mrs. Cranke—seem to me well painted, pleasing in colour, and full of expression. The hands in the picture of John Cranke are beautifully formed, and the dog has life and vigour. In all, the faces are excellent, and must have been good likenesses. How this artist has escaped the notice of the *Dictionary of National Biography* is to me a mystery.

It will doubtless be new to admirers of Romney's pictures that James Cranke the elder, after he returned from London and about the year 1751, taught Romney colouring; and there is little doubt that, either directly or indirectly, Romney was influenced by him to go up to London. Had there been no James Cranke, there might have been no George Romney such as he is known to-day.

In the MS. catalogue of books, dated Urswick, 1756, and already mentioned as suggesting the tastes and pursuits of his wife, there are several entries which refer to his art, such as *Pozzo's Perspective*, *Lomazzo on Painting* ("scarce"), *Leonardo on Painting*, *History of Painting*, *Fresnoy's Art of Painting* (by Dryden), and *Perfection of Painting*. The catalogue shows that James Cranke was a far more cultivated man than most of his contemporaries, and that he possessed a library most unusual in a country house of the middle class. It numbered a total of 297 volumes, including standard works of religion, history,

biography, poetry, philosophy, travels, &c. Singularly enough, though there were many religious works entered, there is no mention of a Bible. James Cranke's family Bible, however (printed in 1723 at Oxford by John Baskett), is still in the possession of Mr. Malachi J. Cranke of Urswick. It contains on one of the fly-leaves the names and dates of birth of his seven children and the verse:—

> The Scriptures—Lord, thou has ordain'd,
> Our surest guide to be,
> In them are sacred truths contain'd,
> We read, mark, learn, & see.
>
> J.C.

And subsequently added:—

> Mr Cranke's book
> Novr 19th, 1801.

From the parish records we get information of his property. In 1762 he held 13 acres in the division of Little Urswick, and 4½ grasses in the upper side of the Craggs, and four in the lower side. In 1762 he also held 12 acres in the Bolton division of the parish of Little Urswick. In 1769 he held 13 acres and 3 roods in the division of Little Urswick. In 1778 his signature appears on a copy of the church terrier, made July 4th.

In his will James Cranke the elder is described as of Little Urswick, Limner. He gives to his well-beloved wife Elizabeth all his household goods and furniture, &c., desiring her to give and permit his son John to have such pieces of plate and such pictures* and books which he had

* The pictures referred to may have included the following, which were at the Cranke's house at "Hawkfield" in 1827, and were removed in April, 1902:—

1.—Elevation of the Cross, by Rubens.
2.—Portrait of a lady in the costume of the Court of Charles II., by Sir Peter Lely.
3.—Portrait in armour, unknown, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
4.—Portrait of a lady, unknown, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
5.—Landscape, a river scene, artist unknown, but supposed to be "Velvet" Breughel.
6.—Landscape with sheep and goats, unknown.
7.—Landscape after a Berchem at Knowsley.

purchased as he would "chuse" to accept of and keep. He gave and devised to his said wife and her assigns for her life all his freehold and customary messuages, tenements, and lands (except his leasehold estate of Bolton Heads) and after her death to the use of his son Malachi, his heirs, and assigns absolutely; also the said leasehold estate called Bolton Heads. To his two friends, Thomas Atkinson of Dalton and Thomas Petty of Wellhouse, he gave and bequeathed all his moneys and personal estate for his wife for her life; and after her death, £200 to his son James, £300 to his son William, £150 to his daughter Elizabeth, and to pay the yearly interest of £100 to his daughter Ann, so as not to be under the control of her present or any future husband; anything remaining after all payments were made to be paid to his son Malachi. Thomas Fell, John Kendall, and Thomas Turner, parish clerk and schoolmaster, were witnesses; dated the 23rd July, 1780. The will was proved at Lancaster on the 7th December, 1780, by the oaths of Thomas Atkinson and Thomas Petty, the executors, under £500. He allowed the executors a reasonable gratification and allowance for their necessary trouble and expenses in the execution of the trusts of his will.

On a tombstone in Urswick Churchyard, made of encrinital limestone from "Hawkfield," is the following inscription, composed by his eldest son, the Rev. John Cranke, Lecturer, Dean and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge:—

Hic juxta parentes suos jacet
Jacobus Cranke Pictor
Optimus Artifex Vir Optimus
qui sese ex humili loco
in famam et celebritatem,
artis, quam sedulo coluit, peritia,
et morum probitate eximia
Suæ ipse sub Deo auctor fortunæ
feliciter evexit.

PORTRAIT OF JAMES CRANKE, Junior,
by Daniel Gardner, of Kendal,
in the possession of Miss Penny, Ulverston.

Photo. by S. B. Gaythorpe. TO FACE P. 137.

UNIV. OF MICH.

Ævo 72* annorum summa cum laude exacto,
Senectute devictus religione autem fortis,
ex hac (in) vitam beatiorem migravit,
die Oct. 28, A.D. 1781.†

Of the children named above, Elizabeth married a Mr. Aycomb, owner of an estate at Sunbrick, near Urswick; Ann married an army officer named Houlding; Lucy seems to have died before 1780, as she is not named in her father's will. John had a somewhat distinguished career as a scholar and clergyman; he became fellow, tutor, and dean of Trinity College, Cambridge, and finally settled in the college living of Gainford, co. Durham. Malachi, the third son, remained as a country resident in Furness, where he is still represented. William, the youngest, became a naval officer, and died young; though as he is mentioned in his father's will in 1780, and was born in 1755, he must have been at least twenty-five at his death. The second son, James, inherited his father's artistic tastes; he is the painter whose life and works I am attempting in this paper to distinguish from those of James Cranke the elder.

James Cranke the younger was born on February 21st, 1746, in Bloomsbury, and came with his parents to Furness about 1751. When he was nine the family settled in Urswick, where he no doubt attended the Grammar School, and learnt the rudiments of painting with his father. As a young man he spent some time in studying at the galleries of Dresden and Antwerp. The Rev. J. R. Magrath, D.D., Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, tells me that the altar piece at Queen's College is by James Cranke, a copy of Leonardo de Vinci's "Adoration of the Shepherds" at Dresden. At Pembroke College there is another copy of Rubens' "Saviour after His Resurrection" at Antwerp. The James Cranke who painted these copies must be our James Cranke the younger, and they were probably done at this period of his study abroad.

* Should be 73. † Should be 1780.

Before the year 1773 he went to Warrington, with introductions to some of the principal families in that neighbourhood; and it is said that he settled there, though his name is not found in a MS. directory of householders in 1781, nor in any rate books of that period. He was probably engaged on work at different country houses, and is known to have lived much at Bank Hall (the Patten's) and Norton Priory (the Norton's). In the family picture room at Knowsley there is a fine painting by him of the twelfth Earl of Derby as a boy, with his two brothers Thomas and James. A good copy by James Cranke, junior, of Andrea del Sarto's "Holy Family" (now in the Louvre) was painted for Mr. John Hesketh of Warrington in 1776, and now hangs over the altar of Trinity Church, Warrington. Another work is the portrait of John Smith Barry, president of the Tarporley Hunt, the approximate date being given by the recorded vote on November 7th, 1773, "that Mr John Barry is desired to sitt for his picture for this Hunt. Mr John Barry very politely consents," though the payment for the picture (£21, exclusive of frame, case, and carriage) was not made until 1779 (Introduction to *Hunting Songs*, by R. E. Egerton Warburton, 6th ed., 1877, pp. xix., xxiii., xxiv.). The picture is full length; at his master's feet sits Blue Cap, the winner of the match at Newmarket in 1762. I have seen the painting, but I do not consider it so good as some by James Cranke the elder.

During the time that James Cranke, junior, lived near Warrington he exhibited eleven pictures at the Royal Academy:—

1775	Catalogue No.	76	Portrait of a Gentleman, half length.
1777	Catalogue No.	72	A Portrait, three quarters.
1779	Catalogue No.	61	A Lady, half length.
1780	Catalogue No.	168	Portrait of a Lady.
1781	Catalogue No.	243	Portrait of a Gentleman.
—	Catalogue No.	244	Portrait of Two Children.
1782	Catalogue No.	59	Portrait of a Lady.
—	Catalogue No.	74	Children.

1787	Catalogue No. 399	Portrait of a Young Lady, whole length.
1798	Catalogue No. 52	Portrait of Mr. Robson.*
1799	Catalogue No. 181	Portrait of Mrs. Hanway.

In April, 1798, his brother John was instituted to the vicarage of Gainford, but soon after became so subject to fits that he never preached during his incumbency, except when he read the articles on his induction. Consequently James went to live with him and managed his affairs until 1816, when the vicar died.

At Gainford, before January 3rd, 1801, James Cranke, junior, painted the Royal Arms, now in the vestry of the church, and during his residence at the vicarage he painted also "Susanna," "The Virgin and Child," "The Presentation in the Temple," "Portrait of George Rigg" (blacksmith, died 1816), "Portrait of Wm. Adamson with an Owl" (still in the possession of his family at Gainford), "Portrait of the Rev. Richard Wilson" (curate of Gainford, 1785-1798, afterwards perpetual curate of Whorlton and Bowes, died 1822; an engraving of this portrait, with the imprint "J. Cranke, pinxt 1802, R. J. Hamerton, lith. 1848," is in the possession of Miss Alice Edleston of Gainford).

James Cranke the younger is still remembered at Gainford. Mr. George Fenwick, born in 1819, said in December, 1904, that the artist bought colours from his grandfather, who died in 1826, and that both his grandfather and father remembered him well as "a great big man, in knee-breeches and buckles." In Walbran's *Antiquities of Gainford*, he is mentioned as an individual of taste and genius, who sang the praises of Gainford church bells in poetic strains, when like all other departing joys they might seem the sweetest. In the MS. *Characters of Gainford* (1807) is the following couplet:—

* Probably the James Robson, a bookseller, of 29 New Bond Street, London, who gave the altar piece at Queen's College, Oxford, in all probability sometime between 1791 and 1795.

James Crank will eat with you and drink,
You'll not do so with him, I think.

On June 28th, 1805, he witnessed an agreement to farm the tithes of Barnard Castle, and in the churchwardens' accounts I find the following references:—

1808. Mr. Cranke for repairing Church Scar £1 . 10 . 0.
1810. 15 Dec. Letter from Mr. Wharton about tithes at Bolam, addressed "Jas. Cranke Esq. Gainford."
1815. Mr. James Cranke, as per bill £1 . 16 . 6.

The church stands on the south-west angle of the green and on a slight elevation, a few yards from the Tees, which in the course of time has washed away a considerable portion of the churchyard. It would have undermined the church, "had it not been for a parochial contribution of several hundred pounds, aided by the laudable endeavours of Mr. James Cranke, brother of the late vicar, who spent much of his time in diverting the course of the surrounding current, piling the bank, and planting the side of the little knoll" (Walbran's *Antiquities of Gainford*, 1846).

When James Cranke left the vicarage at his brother's death he disposed of some of his pictures by a raffle. Miss Raine won "The Presentation in the Temple," which Mr. George Fenwick bought at her sale at Gainford. The artist returned to Urswick, and lived for the rest of his life with his nephew, William Cranke, at "Hawkfield." For some years before his death he was blind. He died at "Hawkfield" at the age of 80 years, and was buried in Urswick Churchyard on January 24th, 1826.

At Mr. R. Casson's sale at Ulverston, September 17th, 1902, the following pictures from "Hawkfield" by James Cranke, junior, were offered:—

"Belshazzar's Feast," after the Rembrandt in the Knowsley collection, 63 × 80 inches (not sold).
"The Storm," 39 × 54 inches (sold to Mr. James Hodgson).

"The Holy Family," after Rubens, 50 × 39 inches (sold to Mr. G. Patrickson).
"Virgin and Saints," 50 × 39 inches (sold to Mr. G. Patrickson).
"The Nativity," "La Notte," 49 × 39 inches (sold to Mr. Edmund Mackereth).
"A Cherub," after Raphael, 20 × 24 inches (sold to Mr. G. Patrickson).
"Arts and Sciences," after Poussin, 27 × 24 inches (sold to Mr. James Hodgson).
"Glaucus and Scylla," after Salvator Rosa, 34 × 30 inches (sold to Mrs. Kennedy).
"Fruit: Peaches from the Garden at Urswick," 12 × 14 inches (sold to Mr. W. Wilson).
"Fruit: Apples from the Garden at Urswick," 12 × 15 inches (sold to Mr. W. Wilson).
"Going to be Taxed," 39 × 15 inches (sold to Mrs. Kennedy).
"Taking down from the Cross," 39 × 28 inches, on a small scale from the great picture by Rubens at Antwerp (sold to Mrs. Kennedy).
"The Presentation," after Rubens, 39 × 15 inches (not sold).
"Lazarus," part of a large picture by Paul Veronese at Knowsley.
"Madonna," after the Correggio at Knowsley (sold to Mr. A. N. Dickson).
"Madonna and Rabbit," after Correggio, 18 × 14 inches (not sold).
Portrait.
Portrait (now in the possession of Mr. T. Ashburner, Pennington).

In addition to the above examples of the work of James Cranke, junior, there is also the portrait of Mrs. Malachi Cranke (née Eleanor Fell of Pennington), believed to have been painted in 1793. This picture was formerly at Gainford, and during its return to Urswick in 1816 it was damaged. The damaged portion, containing the portrait of her infant son William, father of the present Mr. Malachi J. Cranke, was removed, and the picture was reduced to its present size—30 by 27 inches. The style of the painting more nearly resembles that of Reynolds than any other work of James Cranke the younger that I have seen. It is well finished, and there is freedom and a masterly touch in the handling. But in estimating James Cranke the younger as an artist,

I am tempted to quote what is said in the *Dictionary of National Biography* of Reynolds's master, Hudson:—"As a portrait painter he showed firmness and solidity in his drawing, was pleasing in his colour, and true and faithful in his likenesses, but he was without the necessary touch of genius to secure permanent fame." He deserves, however, a place on the somewhat slender roll of local artists, among whom his father must now be separately recognised as a painter of no mean ability.

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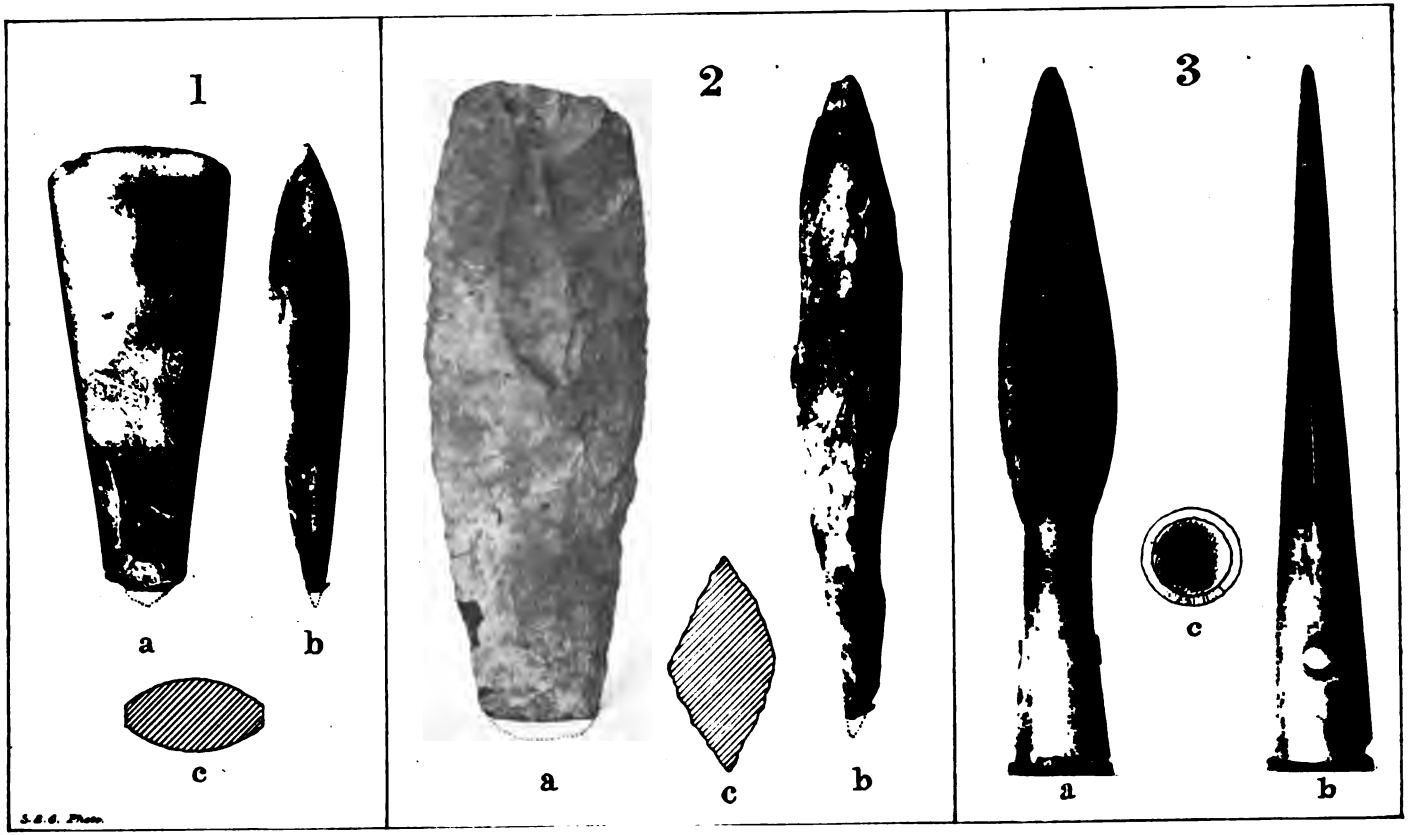

PRE-HISTORIC IMPLEMENTS IN FURNESS.

TO FACE P. 143.

ART. IV.—*Pre-historic Implements in Furness.* By HARPER GAYTHORPE, F.S.A.Scot.

Read at Carlisle, April 27th, 1905.

THE two stone celts which I now bring forward are most interesting specimens of the Neolithic period. Fig. 1, the smaller of the two, was found in March, 1904, at the Walney Road brickworks, Barrow, at a point about a hundred yards from the junction of Chatsworth Street and Hartington Street, north-west of St. James' Church, and about 150 yards due east from Bell's houses, No. 25 and 27 Walney Road, a few yards beyond the Bessemer department of the Barrow Hematite Steel Works.

A brickmaker named Mr. Daniel Evans, who found the celt, informed me that it was picked up whilst excavating an extensive bed of upper boulder clay, at a depth of two to three feet below the surface. I have examined this boulder clay, and found the bank or breast of the clay about twenty feet thick. It contained boulders of all sizes, from a few inches to eighteen inches in diameter—granites, porphyry, limestone, red sandstone, &c.

In excavating the clay about one hundred yards to the north east of where the celt was found, and nearer to Holker Street, was a bed of sand about thirty yards long and from four to five feet thick.

The smaller celt is of peculiar form, and tapers rapidly to the butt end. It has the sides flat, similar to other celts found at Kirkby Ireleth, Walney Island, Greengate Bridge, Barrow, and at Ulverston, and is made of slate of local Silurian formation, originally bluish grey in colour; but owing to being buried in the clay for so long a period, it has become changed on the surface to a drab or "stone"

colour, whilst underneath the surface it gradually assumes a brown tint, until the original colour of the stone appears at a depth of $\frac{1}{64}$ of an inch.

The celt is symmetrical in form, $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, $1\frac{15}{16}$ inches wide at the cutting edge, and $\frac{15}{16}$ of an inch wide at the butt end. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the cutting edge, the celt is $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch thick—the thickest part of the implement. It weighs $5\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. The cutting edge, which has been very sharp but is now flaked, forms an angle of 64 degrees with the faces of the celt. The butt end has also been broken and flaked. Both faces have been ground and polished, and the marks of grinding are mainly longitudinal, while the flat sides have been ground and polished in a transverse direction. The sides are $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch wide, and taper gradually from the cutting edge to the butt end of the celt, and are slightly rounded similar to No. 58 from Burradon, Northumberland, figured in *Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 116, which this celt nearly resembles in form.

There is a ridge on the face of the celt similar to that shown on the Walney celt (these *Transactions*, N.S., iv., p. 325, fig 1., and on fig. 59, p. 111, *Ancient Stone Implements*). One of the faces has been scratched at some distant period, probably glacial. The celt is now in my own possession.

Fig. 2, the larger of the two celts, was found by Mr. Joseph Hine of Greenscoe Farm, near Askam in Furness, about ten years ago, when ploughing a field called Brockholes. Noticing the stone was curiously shaped, he threw it on the hedge bank near the footpath which leads from Greenscoe Farm to Ireleth Church, where it was refound in February, 1905, by his son, Mr. Walter Hine.

The field called Brockholes lies about three-quarters of a mile from High Haume, in a direct line towards Askam. Mr. C. M. Jopling, in his *Sketch of Furness and Cartmel*, 1843, p. 95, states:—

We have been informed, that, upon removing what appeared to be the foundation of an old building near High-haum, about twenty Celts or stone hammers were found, in various states of preparation, some only in form, and others finely polished.

It is not unlikely that this celt may have been one of the unfinished specimens referred to by Mr. Jopling, but it is impossible to say with certainty whether there ever was a regular manufactory of celts near the hut circle at High Haume, similar to those at Cissbury, near Worthing in Sussex, and elsewhere as referred to on pp. 33-35 *Ancient Stone Implements*, or whether the twenty or more celts referred to by Mr. Jopling were only a hoard.

In *Ancient Stone Implements*, nineteen specimens of celts found at various places, merely chipped into form and unground, are figured. They are referred to as being found, with one exception from Yorkshire, in the southern and eastern counties, and the one now being described is, so far as I am aware, the first specimen of its kind figured in Furness. Unfinished celts made of other kinds of stone are much rarer than those made of flint.

This celt is much larger, but in form not unlike No. 25 in *Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 76, from the forest of Bere, near Horndean, Hampshire, and is made of slate of local Silurian formation. Where chipped it has the same characteristics as to colour as I have stated in respect to the smaller celt, and from its form it seems to have been intended to be ground and polished.

By exposure to the weather on the hedge bank since 1895, the upper convex surface has become darker in tint, and the "bate" of the stone can be seen in oblique lines towards the wider end.

According to Sir John Evans, the chipping out of celts such as this must have been effected by direct blows of a hammer. The stone employed is almost always of a more or less silicious nature, and such as breaks (like this) with

a conchoidal fracture (*Ancient Stone Implements*, pp. 32, 35). Great skill must have been required to chip out the long flake in the centre of the celt.

This larger celt is 10½ inches long, 3⅝ inches wide towards the middle, 3⅛ inches wide at the cutting edge, and 2 inches wide at the butt end. It is 1⅞ inches thick near the middle, 1 inch thick near the cutting edge, and ⅝ of an inch thick near the butt end. The faces, although chipped only, are fairly smooth. It weighs 2 lbs. 13 ozs.

The flat part of the lower face appears to be the original surface of the celt, and at the lower portion nearer the butt end the drab and brown tints penetrate into the stone about $\frac{1}{32}$ of an inch, though the stone appears to be equally as hard there as the upper portion. When struck with a small hammer it has a metallic ring. "It seems almost demonstrable that some at least of these unpolished celts must be amongst the earliest of the neolithic implements of this country; for though in neolithic times some naturally-shaped stones have been sharpened for use by grinding only, yet the art of chipping stone into shape must in all probability have preceeded that of grinding or polishing its edges. . . . . Though some may have been used without being ground, they bear, for the most part, the same relation to the finished forms as the blade of steel rough from the forge bears to the polished knife" (*Ancient Stone Implements*, pp. 85, 86).

The stone celts found at Portinscale (Keswick) in November, 1901, described by Canon Rawnsley in these *Transactions*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 418, and also others in the Keswick Museum and at Tullie House, Carlisle, are generally thought to be merely unfinished specimens. The circumstances of the "finds" at Greenscoe and Portinscale do not necessarily imply that these celts are of an early date.

My thanks are due to Mr. Joseph Kendall of Barrow for notes of the discovery of this implement. It now belongs to the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club.

Fig. 3.—The leaf-shaped bronze spear-head, referred to in these *Transactions*, N.S., iii., p. 410, is figured No. 3 on the accompanying plate. It was found at Piel Castle by Mr. Thomas Clayton of Barrow in the year 1871. He and his brother, Mr. Fred Clayton, in dislodging the spear-head with a large boulder stone broke a piece about one inch long off the socketed end, which was visible when the spear-head was found in the original mortar between stones in that portion of the inner boundary wall of the castle now lying on the shore at the south-west corner of the keep, near the Fouldrey Stones and Bass Pool.

On dislodging the stone the spear-head was found to be of a greenish black colour, and was placed at an angle of forty-five degrees or thereabouts with the face of the wall, and about four feet above the ground level of the stone work. There were no signs of new mortar, or of the spear-head having been put between the stones in modern times.

The spear-head was originally about $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, but is now $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and the socketed end $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches in diameter. The mid-rib is circular in section, and tapers gradually from the socketed end to the point of the spear. There is a hollow fluting about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch wide, parallel to the edges of the spear-head. In form it is like that found in Heathery Burn Cave, figured in *Ancient Bronze Implements*, No. 381, p. 312, and on plate ii., vol. 15, these *Transactions*, pp. 164, 165.

It has been fixed with a brass rivet into a modern handle. The spear-head was probably built into the wall when the castle was founded, c. 1324.

The holes through which the spear-head has been rivetted to the handle were drilled by Mr. T. Clayton. The other hole under the rivet, shown on the side view, was there when the spear-head was found, but there was no hole opposite to it as is usually the case.

" As to the position in time which spear-heads occupy in the Bronze Age, it is probable that it is towards the close rather than the beginning of that period." The spear-head is now in the possession of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club, having been presented through a former curator (Mr. George Dixon) by Mr. T. Clayton.

Figs. 1 and 3 are half full size. Fig. 2 is one-third full size.

ART. V.—*On a Stone Celt found near Cockermouth.* By EDWIN JACKSON.

Read at Carlisle, April 27th, 1905.

THE stone hammer-axe of the late neolithic period was found at Moorland Close, one and a quarter miles south-west of Cockermouth on the Egremont road, by the farm tenant, Mr. John Thornthwaite, when digging in his garden, some eighteen inches below the surface, and but a few feet away from the foundations of the dwelling house. Formerly a large sycamore tree grew upon the exact spot, and it is probable that when the tree was cut or blown down the hammer was raised from the subsoil with the roots of the tree. It weighs 7 lbs. 6 ozs., and measures from head to edge nine inches, being thirteen inches in circumference at its widest part. It is in a good state of preservation, and has been shaped out of a piece of greywacke or impure quartzite, which is of common occurrence amongst the sedimentary rocks of the Silurian and Cambrian age in this country. There are several bands of rock of this kind amongst the Skiddaw slates around Bassenthwaite, and it may very well have come from one of them, the hills above Bassenthwaite being clearly visible some eight miles away from the spot where the hammer was found. Moorland Close is at the top of a billowy upward slope from lower ground, which at one time would be marsh land or a morass of some extent.

The site commands a fairly extensive view of the surrounding country, more especially of the north and east, and may have been used as a position fairly easily defendable by the local tribesmen. There are some indications of ground works, but they probably belong to a much later time. Moorland Close is now the property of

Percy Wyndham, Esq., of the Indian Civil Service; but at one time it belonged to the Fletcher family of Cockermouth Hall, one of whose members entertained the fugitive Mary Queen of Scots on her memorable journey from Workington to Carlisle after her disastrous defeat at Langside. It also is of historical interest as the birthplace of Fletcher Christian, the leader of the mutiny of the "Bounty."

ART. VI.—*Roman Coin found at Gosforth.* By C. A. PARKER, M.D.

Read at Carlisle, April 27th, 1905.

THIS coin was found by a gamekeeper while engaged in digging out a rabbit in a field near Hallsenna, in the parish of Gosforth. It was not in the fence, but about half-a-dozen yards from it, and about a foot deep in the sandy soil. The keeper dug freely round the spot without finding any more.

It is a silver Roman coin, the size of a sixpence, in a good state of preservation. The reverse bears a figure of Fortune, standing, with a steering oar in her right hand and a horn of plenty in her left. Inscription:—

FORTVNA AVGVSTA.

On the obverse is the laurelled head of the emperor, a typically Roman profile, surrounded by the inscription:—

IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. PM. TRP. COS. III. PP.

which when extended reads:—

IMPERATOR NERVA CAESAR AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIBVNITIA POTESTATE CONSVL TERTIVM PATER PATRIÆ

M. Cocceius Nerva was emperor for two years only, from A.D. 96-98, consequently his coins are scarce, averaging about one in a thousand coins found.

Although the line of Agricola's march is thought to have been near the sea, and may be marked by the straight pieces of road between (1) Drigg and Seascale and (2) Braystones and St. Bees, it is probable that the later Roman road, which must have existed north of the camp at Ravenglass, was on the line of the present high road to Gosforth and Egremont. That is to say, after

crossing the Mite close to the railway, the Roman followed the straight road running to Gubbergill, where it twists to cross the Irt at the Holmrook shallows. From Holmrook to Calderbridge the road pursues a direct course over hill and dale, and over it the sandstone found at the camps at Ravenglass and Hardknott was probably carried from Gosforth. At a point called indifferently Benfold or Sandy Lonnins, about midway between Gosforth and Holmrook, the road rises over a ridge 180 feet above the sea, and is crossed at right angles by a lane which appears to be a very ancient track—possibly pre-historic.

This track, which keeps persistently on dry ground, is the most direct route from Wasdale to the sea, crosses the Gosforth marsh at its narrowest point, and avoids a rise of 170 feet which the modern road from Gosforth to Wasdale takes. Fifty years ago it was called the old road to Wasdale. It extends from the guide post at the foot of Rainors Brow to Hallsenna, the Wasdale end pointing directly to the fellside called Bolton Wood, on which is a stone circle, not far from which a bronze celt was found. Called at first Low Lonnin, it passes near Laneside and Rainors, at both of which places polished stone implements have been found; then crossing the Bleng, it runs close to the old manor house Hall Bolton, being known as Toft Lane. Under the name of Stubs-head Lane, it passes close to Gallabanks, a legendary place of execution; then crossing the high road at Sandy Lonnins, it runs direct to Hallsenna Moor, where there were formerly several tarns, and where a large polished celt was found. It was close to this lane, about 460 yards from the high road in the direction of Hallsenna, that the coin was dug up.

It seems not improbable that the coin had come into the possession of a native who lost it while following this ancient path, which originally led from place to place in which his forefathers had lived or hunted.

ART. VII.—*An unpublished Roman Altar at Netherhall.* By J. B. BAILEY.

Read at Carlisle, April 27th, 1905.

SOME months ago I was looking over the altars at Netherhall, when my attention was drawn to two stones which I had not previously noticed. One of them, apparently part of an altar, was uninscribed, but the other had an inscription of three lines. A portion of this was very indistinct, but the concluding part presented no difficulty. It was as follows :—

. . . . . .
. . . CO PRAEF
COH TT LING

Careful inquiry on the spot failed to supply the faintest trace of their origin. My first idea was that they must have come from Moresby ; but, if so, there was no record. On turning, however, to page 294, vol. ix., of these *Transactions*, light was thrown upon the subject. There Dr. Hooppell described two exactly similar stones, which, he says, were found in 1885 during the restoration of Harrington Church, and which, at the time he wrote, were in the vicarage garden there. In a note to the above statement, the late Chancellor Ferguson remarked that they had been removed to Newcastle. The question then was how they had got to Maryport, assuming them to be the same stones. To decide this I wrote to Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., of South Shields, and he kindly informed me that they had been in his possession,* but that in or about the year 1887 he gave them to Chancellor

* By the gift of Mr. Curwen, vicar of Harrington.—R.B.

Ferguson, who, in turn, gave them to the late H. Pocklington Senhouse, Esq., of Netherhall. I was unable to gather when this transfer took place, but I assume that it must have been at a very recent date. It thus seems clear that these two stones at Netherhall are really those found at Harrington.

The inscribed stone is clearly part of a larger one, which had probably been cut down to make it fit for the use to which the church builders designed it. Its breadth on the face is 16 inches, its height in front 11 inches, and at the back 15 inches. Its thickness at the bottom is 9 inches, and at the top 11 inches.

The inscription, which is evidently only a portion of the original, is in a sunk panel, the raised edge of which is complete at the bottom and on the right hand, whilst on the left it has been broken off. There has been a similar panel on both sides of the altar, but there are no sculptures of any kind visible.

With a further wish to recover, if possible, the full inscription, on April 13th Mr. T. Carey went with me to Netherhall. As the lettering on the left of the stone was very indistinct, we expected that our task would be a difficult one; but the experience I had gained whilst reading the altars at Rokeby (these *Transactions*, N.S., v., p. 121) proved very useful, although we had not the use of the lichen on this occasion.

We first thoroughly sponged the whole inscription with water, and then lightly dried the elevated portions with a duster. By this means the letters themselves were rendered much more recognizable. At length, after viewing them from various positions, besides using other expedients tending to produce a shadow, we came to the conclusion that the inscription is:—

C V R A N V M R M
C V R BA Co P R A E F
C O H $\overline{\text{II}}$ L I N G

Whether this is likely to prove a satisfactory rendering is quite another matter. We have, however, very little doubt about the correctness of the reading of the first line. As to the second we are not quite so confident. The initial C may or may not be there, but appearances strongly favour its presence. Then, again, between the letter B and Co are two strokes which we could scarcely identify as forming a letter. They are in the form given in the text, but the first stroke starts at the lower end of the down stroke of the B, and cuts the curve of the B; the second filling the space between the letters B and Co. Its height is some two-thirds of the height of the other letters. It is to be noted that the letter o after C is much smaller than the other letters. There can be no dispute as to the rendering of the third line.

Without attempting to give an explanation of this inscription, it might seem probable that the altar had been erected as a memorial of some work that had been executed under the care of the Prefect of the 2nd Cohort of the Lingones.

With regard to the uninscribed stone, it is apparently the right hand portion of the top of an altar. At first we thought it might have been the upper part of the inscribed portion, but we afterwards found reason to alter our opinion. It is 16 inches high, 8 inches broad at the top and 5 inches at the bottom, with a thickness of 9 inches. An ornamental band runs across the top, and then some eight inches down the right side. Assuming that the same band was on the left side, the space included between these lines was taken up with three sunk panels, each some two inches wide; two of them are slightly concave, the third, or lowest, being flat.

ART. VIII.—*A Remarkable Inquisition.* By F. H. M. PARKER, M.A.

Read at Carlisle, April 27th, 1905.

THE accompanying extract from the De Banco Roll of 1290 records an inquisition of an extraordinary character. The proceedings are of special interest to the student of legal antiquities; but, as they took place at Camerton, give some information about the genealogy of one of the old families of Cumberland, and centre around the descent of one of the local estates, it has some general value as well.

The facts, shortly stated, are as follows:—Alan de Camberton, to give the old form of the name, owned considerable landed property, and died some time before the autumn of 1290. He left a widow, Mary. He had no brother, and only one sister, Matilda or Maud, wife of William de Bretteby, now Birkby; and as Alan had no children, she would be his successor unless a posthumous heir should be born. Then Mary de Camberton, the widow, asserted that this was about to occur. Owing to this statement, which was untrue, Maud was for some time kept out of her inheritance.

A very serious view was taken of this fraud. The Sheriff was directed to attend at Mary's house, taking with him a jury of the most discreet knights and the most discreet ladies in the county, who were to enquire into the circumstances. Such a proceeding is probably an exceptional measure to meet an exceptional case. Mr. W. K. Boyd, whose experience of old records is very wide, comments that he has never met with any other instance of the same kind.

The names of the knights forming the jury were:—

Hubert de Multon, Thomas de Neuton, Peter de Eyncurt, Thomas de Ribbeton (Ribton), Henry de Seburgham (Sebergham), and Robert de Bostanthwayt (Bassenthwaite). The names of the "discreet" ladies were:—Christiana de Utteresete (Oughterside); Eva, wife of William de Alenburg (Ellenborough); Christiana de Blenecrayk (Blindcrake); Sigreda de Boulton; Agnes, wife of William de Langerigg; Goditha, mother of John de Plomeland (Plumbland); Matilda, wife of Alexander le ffeure; Joan, wife of Adam, the son of Robert; and Isabel, wife of Richard Buche.

Their finding was, in effect, a condemnation of Mary, and the record closes with directions to the Sheriff to cause all parties concerned to attend before the Justices in order that they might deal with her.

MONSTRAVERUNT domino Regi Willielmus de Bretteby et Matilda uxor ejus quod cum Maria, que fuit uxor Alani de Camberton, fratris predicte Matilde, prægnans non sit, ipsa Maria falso dicit se esse impregnatam de dicto Alano, ad exheredacionem ipsius Matilde desicut terra que fuit predicti Alani ad ipsam Matildam jure hereditario descendere debet tamquam ad sororem et heredem predicti Alani si predicta Maria prolem de eo non habuerit. Et quia dominus Rex tantam maliciam, si excogitata fuerit, vult impedire, preceptum fuit vicecomiti quod assumptis secum discretis et legalibus militibus et discretis et legalibus mulieribus de comitatu suo in propria persona accederet ad ipsam Mariam et ipsam a predictis mulieribus coram præfatis militibus videri et diligenter tractari per ubera et ventrem et omnibus aliis modis quibus melius testificari poterunt, faceret, et si ipsam Mariam impregnatam invenirent, diligenter inquirerent de tempore quo ipsa concepta et de tempore quo ipsam credunt partituram. Et inquisitionem quam inde fecerint, scire faciant hic adhuc diem evidenter et distincte per litteras suas sigilla et per duos milites ex illis qui inquisitioni illi secum interfuerint, ut cognita inde veritate Justiciariis hic quod justum fuerit facerent illic. Et vicecomiti mandatum est quod accederet in propria persona sua apud Camberton ad predictam Mariam que dixit se esse prægnantem de predicto Alano die lune proxima post festum Sancti Michaelis ultimo preterito acceptis secum discretioribus militibus totius comitatus scilicet Huberto de Multon, Thoma de Neuton, Petro de

Eyncurt, Thoma de Ribbeton, Henrico de Seburgham, Roberto de Bostenthwayt, coram quibus predicta Maria visa fuit per discretiores mulieres comitatus, scilicet Christianam de Utteresete, Evam uxorem Willielmi de Alenburg, Christianam de Blenecrayk, Sigredam de Boulton, Agnetem sororem Alexandri le ffeure, Johannam uxorem Ade filii Roberti, et Isabellam uxorem Ricardi Buche.*

Et tractata coram eisdem per ubera et ventrem et omnibus aliis modis quibus melius certiorari potuerunt utrum fuerit prægnans necne, que dicunt super sacramentum suum quod dicta Maria non est prægnans, nec per aliquod signum possint cognoscere unde prægnans sit illlc. Set quia secure non potest procedi ad judicium sine Thoma de Derewentwatre, Thoma de Corewen et Ada de Wyndskales, capitalibus dominis feodi in quorum manibus predicte terre sunt, et similiter predicta Maria que se dixit esse prægnantem, præceptum est vicecomiti quod venire faciat eos hic a die Sancti Hillarii in xv. dies illic. Et similiter dictum est predicto Willielmo quod habeat hic prefatam uxorem suam ad prefatum terminum illic.

(De Banco Roll, 86, m. 73, Mich. 18-19 Edward I.)

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* Though these names are no longer familiar, they form a jury fairly representative of the most responsible families in West Cumberland during the period. Peter de Eyncurt and Thomas de Ribbeton were verderers of the forest of Inglewood in 13 Edward I.; Thomas and William de Langerigg and John de Plomeland were regarders of the ward of Allerdale, as was Richard "Bouche;" Thomas de Neuton was one of the knights who formed part of a jury for deciding whether the "Island of Holme Cultram" was to be disafforested in 20 Edward I.; the Bassenthwaite and Sebergham families frequently supplied forest officials, and two came from the house of Oughterside.

ART. IX.—*Inglewood Forest.* Part II. By F. H. M. PARKER, M.A.

Read at Darlington, September 14th, 1905.

IN a previous paper on Inglewood I endeavoured to give some idea of the great area covered by the Cumbrian forest in early times. In addition to the official surveys there is a deed in existence which affords information on the same subject, and well deserves inclusion in the history of Inglewood. It forms part of a private collection, and was transcribed by our vice-president, the Rev. James Wilson, who kindly supplied me with a copy. It is based on the perambulation of the reign of Edward the First, with which it should be compared. The record of the latter is much defaced, but another survey, given in apparently identical terms, was made in the following reign. This is much better preserved, and may be used for the purpose of reference. Omitting the bounds of Inglewood and Allerdale, which have been given elsewhere, its contents are as follows :—*

Inquisition held at Penrith in the Forest of Inglewode on Friday next before the Feast of St. Dunstan the Bishop, the ninth year of Edward (the Second), by Robert de Umfraivil, Earl of Anegos (Angus), Warden of the King's forests north of the Trent, according to the writ attached to this inquisition, and the sworn testimony of Adam Armestrange, Adam Lempley, John de Leisingby, Patrick Bouche, Walter Mumby, Thomas de Dokwra, Roger de Latun, Robert de Stirkland, Thomas Franceys, John son of Alexander, John de Coupland, and Alexander de Capella: who say on their oath that the last perambulation in the Forest of Inglewood was

* Forest Proceedings, Ancient, Chancery, 75. Instructions to hold this perambulation are given in No. 70, but the matter is not of special local interest.

made by John de Lithegrynes and his colleagues, beginning at the bridge over Caldeu (here follow the bounds of Inglewood).

And they say that whatever is contained within these boundaries was the demesne forest of King Henry, great-grandsire of King Edward, father of King Edward now reigning, and remained in the forest by that perambulation. And that Alan, the son of Waldeve, once Lord of Allerdale, gave to King Henry, great-grandsire of Edward, father of the King, hart and hind, the roe and the boar between Shauk and Alen, as Alen falls into the sea; and the same Alan gave to King Henry the soil and herbage of Allerdale in free chace, that is to say (here come the bounds of Allerdale forest).

And they say that by the said perambulation the following towns were placed outside the forest: Wygeton . . . . ., the town of Waverton with its woods and open ground (*campus*); the town of Boulton, with its woods and open ground, the town of Brumfeld with its outskirts, woods and open ground; the town of Ucmanneby with its open ground; the town of Aspatrik with its open ground; the town of Kirkbrid; and Ulveton, with its woods and open ground; the town of Crosseby with its open ground; Alenbank with its open ground; the town of Dundragh with its outskirts in the open ground; the town of Blencogou with its fields; the town of High Crosseby with its open ground; one moiety of the town of Blenco facing Graystock.

But the deed referred to goes beyond this, for it mentions in addition that these places were once within the forest *(prius fuerunt in foresta)*. This is particularly important in the case of High Crosby; for, while the surveys already mentioned show that the other places mentioned came within the areas appropriated by Henry the Second, the forest records show no evidence that High Crosby had ever been included.

Ville de baronia de Allerdale in comitatu Cumbrie que posite sunt extra forestam regis per perambulationem eiusdem comitatus anno regni regis xxviii° que prius fuerunt in foresta, videlicet,

Villa de Boulton que est in manu domini Regis nunc per escætam per mortem Galfridi de Moubray de Scotia.

Item, villa de Assepatrik que est Thome de Lucy.

Item, villa de Ukemanby que est Willelmi de Mulcastre.

Item, Alta Crosseby que est in manu domini regis ratione terrarum de Cokermouth que fuerunt comitis de Albemarl.

Item, villa de Neuton que est Thome de Neuton.

Item, villa de Bromfeld que est Ade del Crokedayk et parcenariorum suorum.

Item, quinque ville de baronia Johannis de Wygton, videlicet, Wygton, Waverton, Blencogou, Dromdrawe, et Kirkbride.

II.—How Roger de Lancastre kept the Forest.

During the later years of Henry the Third the history of Inglewood possesses special—we may almost say international—interest, owing to the cession of certain manors* within it to the King of Scotland. An important result of this arrangement was that certain rights of common and other privileges which the inhabitants had always enjoyed in the jealously guarded forest were now exercised by the tenants of a foreign sovereign. The situation was a strained one, and the tension was not relieved by the strong views on the subject held by Roger de Lancastre, the seneschal of the northern forests, who evidently thought that everything that the tenants got from the forest was a regrettable enrichment of the Scottish monarch at the expense of his own royal master. He acted accordingly, and the state of affairs must have been exceedingly uncomfortable, especially for the commoners, the last scene in the drama being a judicial enquiry at Carlisle on behalf of the King of Scotland. As will be seen presently, a great deal of interesting information was elicited about the various customs and privileges of the manors; and, what is also of value, a record is made of other supposed rights alleged on behalf of these manors, and repudiated by the jurors.

Even before this an inquisition had been held on one of the matters which form a subject of complaint, the enlargement of Plumpton Hay by carrying the eastern boundary out as far as the Carlisle road. What the object of this innovation was is not stated; but considering the efforts made to carry it out, and the annoyance it

* Penrith, Sowerby, Salkeld, Langwathby, Scotby, and Carlatton.

caused to the men of Penrith, it is hard to avoid a suspicion that one object was to harrass the King of Scotland.

Two inquisitions were held on the subject. The first, which gives some particulars of the common rights, runs as follows:—

Inquisition:* by what metes and bound a perambulation can be made up to the King's highway from Penrith to Carlisle, and whether it would be to the loss and prejudice of the rights of anyone in those parts; and whether the king can by that perambulation enclose the place for the enlargement of Plumpton Hay, and take it from the said highway to the preserved lands within his demesne without causing injury or not; and if it should be to the injury or prejudice of others, to what injury or prejudice; made by the king's directions and his writ at Maiden Castle† in the Forest of Englewode on Saturday next after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the fifty-second year of King Henry, before Roger de Lancastre, then seneschal of the forests beyond Trent and William de Dacre, then Sheriff of Cumberland, and others faithful, etc. by Gilbert de Wyrkinton, Patrick de Ulvesby, Robert de Molecastre, Richard de Laton, Robert de Hampton, John de Ireby, Thomas de Cletergh, Robert de Ravenewyth, John de Karleolo, Henry de Staveley, William de Karleolo, the younger, Richard le Fleming, Gilbert Le Fraunceys, knights; Robert de Warthewyk, Thomas de Derwentwater, Robert de Wyterig, John de Denton, Thomas de Neuton, John de Terriby, Henry de Threlkeld, Robert de Vallibus, Alexander de Ribbeton, Adam de Langerig, Ralph de Lanplou, William de Boyvill, Robert de Arthureth, Robert de Ethardby, Richard Buche, Adam de Plumlond, Robert de Crogelyn, Jordan de Graungeis, Adam de Thoresby, Thomas de Ermithuayt, Adam Turp of Edenhal, Roger Leydetere, freemen of the county of Cumberland; Patrick le Brun, Peter de Ayncurth, Alan de Brumfeld, Gervase de Tynpaneron, Simon de Hoton, Eudo de Schirewith, Thomas de Bello Campo, Geoffrey son of Ivo, Robert son of Ivo, Adam de Hoton, Adam Armestrang and Gilbert de Blenecrayc, verderers; who being sworn say on their oath that a perambulation can be made between the highway and the King's preserved lands, and that he can enclose the place for the enlargement of his park at Plumpton, because the land *(fundus)* is the King's own: but not

* *Inq. ad quod damnum*, File 2, No. 38.

† Maiden Hill near Penrith.

without loss and prejudice to others in those parts, because the township of Leysingby has common in the herbage in the place mentioned, over a length, by estimate, of two leagues, and a breadth of eighty perches, according to the forest perch; and the beasts of the said township come in summer to the water of the Petrell, which is between the place and Plumpton Hay. Also the township of Penrith, which belongs to the King of Scotland, has common in the herbage within a part of that place, on each side of the water of the Peytrell, for a length of half a league and ten perches, according to the forest perch. But whether the King of Scotland has been enfeoffed of that estate they do not know.

Another inquisition* was held at the same place on Thursday next after Michaelmas in the fifty-second year of the same reign, and a jury decided that the King could enclose the land in accordance with the provision of Merton.

Next came the investigation of the grievances alleged to have been sustained by the King of Scotland. It will be seen that in each article the Scottish representatives stated their claim, and the manner of its infringement; the jury then, after carefully eliminating the speculative parts of the claim, decided whether an injury had been done or not :—†

The King of England directed his beloved and faithful Robert de Nevill and John de Reygat to enquire by the oath of honest and lawful men of Cumberland, what persons, with Roger de Lancastre, late seneschal of the Forests north of Trent, and the servants and men then under him, and others of the county, did trespasses, wrongs, injuries, and oppressions to the King of Scotland and his men in Penrith, and to hear and determine these trespasses. This inquisition was held at Carlisle, the Saturday after the conception of the Blessed Mary, the 56th year of King Henry, by the sworn testimony of Robert son of Walter, Robert de Molecastre, Gilbert le Francays, Richard de Laton, Patrick de Ulvesby, Knights; Robert de Tillioll, William Armestrang, Henry de Vallibus, Thomas de Neuton, Alan de Brumfeld, Robert son of Bernard, Richard de Stokys, Henry de Sabulonibus, Robert de Buthecastre, Thomas de

* Forest Proceedings, Ancient, Chancery, 15.
† Forest Proceedings, Ancient, Chancery, 16.

Blaterne, John de Riberdby, Thomas le Venur, Robert de Crogelyn, Henry de Salkeld, Geoffrey de Ragton and Robert his brother, William de Mora, Adam de Tynemue, Geoffrey de Seburgeham; who on that Saturday appeared before the said Robert and John at Carlisle. And there were present the Abbot of Melrose, the lord Eymer de Makeswell, Sheriff of Dumfres (Dumfries), the lord Richard de Bykerton, the lord Alexander de Syntem; William de Swynburne and John de Swynburne, deputies of the King of Scotland in Cumberland; who assented to the inquisition and the jury named, and exhibited for the King of Scotland the trespasses, &c. in this form:

Firstly: that Roger de Lancastre, Forester of Engilwode, dispossessed the King of Scotland and the men of Penreth of 300 acres of land, and caused them to be inclosed as part of Plumpton Park; and still holds them; and because the men of the manors wished to protect their pasture there, the said Roger caused them to be imprisoned, to their great loss.

But the inquisitors say thus: that the King sent a writ to Roger de Lancastre, then seneschal of the forest of Inglewood, that he should enquire by means of knights whether he could enclose Plumpton Hay up to the road leading from Carlisle to Penrith without causing loss or prejudice to anyone. And the knights came to that place on a certain day, both from the liberties and from the whole county; and said on their oath that the place between the King's highway and the water of the Petrell is the King's own ground, and that he can enclose that place with Plumpton Hay; but not without causing loss and prejudice. For the King of Scotland and Thomas de Multon and others had common to the water of the Petrell. And that inquisition was made and sent under the seals of the knights to the King's court.

Then Roger had another mandate from the King, to hold a further enquiry whether he could enclose the said place according to the provision of Merton. And the King's faithful servants said in the first inquisition that the place was the King's own ground; and the knights and other faithful servants said in the second inquisition by the mandate of the King that he could enclose that place according to the provision of Merton, unless he had made some further grant to the king of Scotland by his charter, which would prevent his making that enclosure.

Hence they say that injury has been done to the king of Scotland by Roger de Lancastre, seneschal of the forest, and his foresters to the amount of 20s. since the time mentioned, because the manor was given him by the king of England's mandate, etc., at high valuation without drawback and as freely as the King of England

held it before. And he is entitled to the holding free. Therefore the matter is for the judgment of the King of England and his Council.

Item, that Roger de Lancastre made a perambulation at Peterelwra (Wreay) and Barrokmosse within the forest, and treats the land there as preserved, though the men of Scotby had common there with all their beasts without hindrance time out of mind.

But they say that the men of Scotland never had common there, except on their paying the forester. Hence Roger de Lancastre could lawfully enclose it.

Item, that Roger and his foresters imparked the water at Plumpton, so that the animals from Penrith cannot get to the water within their common; wherefore they are dying from thirst.

They say that injury has been done to the king of Scotland to the extent of 20s. in addition to the other damage, in the same manner as before, because the water enclosed is within the place already mentioned.

Item, while all the men in the manors used to have a supply (liberationem) of wood from Englewode each seventh year to renew and repair their houses and fences, and for their other needs, and though they brought a writ for the purpose from the King of England to Roger de Lancastre, he declined to move in the matter. Hence they have had no supply of wood these fifteen years past.

They say that they never had the supply without the special mandate of the king. Then the men of the king of Scotland lately brought a mandate from the King of England to Roger de Lancastre on two occasions, and at the last writ Roger caused the verderers to report (visum facere) on their having estovers. And they made their report and said that the repairs in the manors of the King of Scotland required for renewals 334 oaks by the greater hundred.* And, because it seemed to Roger that this would greatly waste the forest, he put off the work, and has not yet done it, causing loss of £4 2s. 1d. To the judgment of the King of England, because within the forest.

This passage throws a sidelight on the motives by which the seneschal of the forest was actuated. The fifteen years during which the manors went without wood cover the period during which they had been lost to the English crown; the needful supply of oak timber would

* *Per majus centum.* The "greater hundred" is understood to mean one hundred and twenty.

seriously affect the forest. The impression produced is that Roger was a man of great, but perhaps indiscreet, loyalty, who would guard what he supposed to be his sovereign's interests, even at the cost of neglecting orders and branding himself as a petty tyrant. It is also worthy of note that the claims and complaints on the Scottish side were considerably exaggerated.

Item, whereas the men of the King of Scotland in Soureby have always had common with their beasts within the cover of the forest of Engelwode without hindrance, Roger and the foresters seize the beasts within the cover, and fine the men so heavily at the pleas of the forest that they do not dare to come within the cover.

They say that they have never had common outside their own bounds; and that if they have been found with their beasts outside their bounds, they have been seized, whether within the cover or without, and attached at the pleas of the forest.

Item, if it happens that a horse, ox, or other beast escapes from the care of the herdsman within the forest, and the foresters capture them, they cannot redeem them except they pay for each horse 6d. and for each ox 4d.

They say that in the time of Eustace de Bayllol when he was seneschal of the forest that custom was imposed of taking 6d. for each horse, as often as it was found on preserved land. Further, Roger de Lancastre continued that custom, as much with the men in the country as in the manors, during his term of office. Also they say that before the park was enclosed, Roger de Lancastre took, by means of his foresters, 1d. for each beast, and afterwards 4d., before it was enclosed, for the beasts of the King of Scotland's men when found within the limits of the perambulation of the park. Hence a wrong has been done causing loss to them. Before the King, because within the forest.

Item, Roger de Lancastre caused a place to be enclosed within the common pasture of Penrith, called Byrkemire, and let it at a rent to Thomas de Capella, thereby manifestly ousting the king of Scotland (ad manifestum exheredacionem Regis Scocie).

They say that the said Thomas de Capella had seisin of Byrkemire by a mandate of the King of England, directed to William de Dakyr, then Sheriff of Cumberland, and by that sheriff he had entry. Afterwards came Roger de Huntercombe (?), then bailiff of the King of Scotland, and prevented Thomas from making profit from it (appruiamentum inde facere) until he rented the place Byrkemire from the King of Scotland at twelve pence a year; and Thomas

gave Roger de Huntercumbe, the bailiff of the King of Scotland half a mark for having entry.

Item, whereas the men of the said manors used always to have dead wood, whether lying on the ground or standing dry, wherever it was, Roger de Lancastre and his foresters prevented them taking away any wood, unless lying on the ground.

They say that the men of the manors never had dead wood, unless on their paying * the seneschal of the forest; for dead wood has always been the seneschal of the forest's time out of mind: except in the manor of Soureby, the men of which have some wood. To the judgment of the King.

Item, whereas any persons in the said manors used to have one cartload of alder and birch wood that was dead, for making and repairing their ploughs and waggons once in each year, and to pay a penny to the forester for each load, they are entirely prevented by Roger and his foresters, so that they get nothing, and lose the upkeep of their houses.

They say (in corresponding form that this is true) and they are wrongfully hindered by the foresters of Roger de Lancastre to a loss of 5s.

Item, Roger de Lancastre and his foresters seize the swine of the manors outside the cover in their common pasture and near their enclosures during fawning time,† where they have always been accustomed to feed their swine at all seasons of the year without hindrance, they now interfere with and seize them; and as often as they can seize the swine, they take from each herd ‡ the best pig for the use of Roger de Lancastre.

They say that all swine whether from the manors or the whole of the country are always taken alike throughout the entire forest during fawning time, that is, a fortnight before the Feast of St. John Baptist and a fortnight after; and for each herd ‡ the seneschal has been used to take one pig. And in Plumpton Hay swine are taken on any day of the year on which they are found, and they take one pig from each herd. But if a single sow is found with her pigs she has been allowed to go unhindered. And this has been custom time out of mind.

Item, that Roger and his foresters take the swine of the said men,

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* *Nisi pro suo dando senescallo*, etc. a curious phrase. Between the last two words is interlined, "namely one mark per annum, and this from the time of Thomas de Multon."

† The word thus rendered can only be guessed. It is first written *Falnosia*, then *fonnosia*, and in Forest Proc. A.Ch. 85. *fonatio*.

‡ *sundro*. There appears to be no authority for this word, but "herd" fits the sense.

whereas they have always been used to feed their swine in the woods of Englewode, both in cover and open ground, as in their common excepting the land of Plumpton.

They say as before.

Item, they say that Roger and his foresters took the horses of the men of Penrith in that part of their common pasture which was lately enclosed within the park, before that place was so enclosed, and took for each horse twelve pence, and took other beasts likewise in the same place, and imparked the place and took for each beast one penny.

They say that before that place was enclosed Roger and his foresters took from the men of Penrith twelve pence for each horse, and for other beasts a penny; and this unjustly, to a loss of 5s.

Item, they say that the said Roger and his foresters made attachments within the liberty of the King of Scotland, and this is to the ousting of the king of Scotland, and against the tenor of his charter.

They say that the foresters and verderers ought to make attachments of vert and venison in the manors, saving this, that any bailiff of the King of Scotland should be advised by the foresters, so that he may be present at the attachments if he desire to attend. And if he does not come, the attachments should be made in the usual way according to the custom of the forest.

Item, they say that when any man of the manors looks for his beasts within the forest, the foresters demand security from them (devadiant eos) and remove them to prison, unless they effect their redemption with the foresters.

They say that if surety has been demanded from anyone, an injury has been done in this to the king of Scotland, to his loss.

Item, whereas the King of Scotland ought, according to the tenor of his charter, to have the amercements of what ever kind, for every manner of forfeiture both from pleas of the forest and from all other pleas before whomsoever they be held, the bailiffs of the forest amerce men at their pleas of the forest, and this at the simple statement of the foresters, without other suit or proof, and extort the amercements from these men. Thus the King of Scotland receives nothing, and that though the King of England sent his writ to the seneschal and the other servants of the forest, to allow the king of Scotland and his bailiffs to receive these amercements.

They say that the King of Scotland ought to receive every kind of amercement of vert and venison, and of all pleas determined before the Justices in Eyre. But the king of Scotland has never been accustomed to receive amercements arising from the escape of beasts or the like.

Item, that though the foresters of Engilwode or the other officers

shall not enter the manors of the king of Scotland, according to the tenor of his charter, either for eating or drinking or entertainment, nor any other purpose except only for making attachments of pleas relating to the forest, and this under the view of the bailiff of the King of Scotland, if when notified he wishes to attend, yet in the time of Roger de Lancastre they continually spend time there, receive entertainment, make attachments without summoning the bailiff, seize the men of these manors within their own houses, arrest and imprison them at their will; and this is to the great loss of the king of Scotland and the manors, and manifestly against the tenor of his charter.*

They say that the foresters ought not to enter the manors for the purpose of eating or drinking, or of entertainment, without the will of the men of the manors, otherwise than others in the country in a market town; nor should they make attachments otherwise than as set forth in the article above. And if the foresters have done otherwise during the time of Roger de Lancastre, the king of Scotland has been injured thereby.

Item, whereas all the men of the manors have had free fishery in all waters within the lands of the King of Scotland, they are hindered during the time of Roger de Lancastre by himself and his foresters, and if found fishing they are seized and imprisoned.

They say that they have been accustomed to fish in all waters within the lands of the King of Scotland, and should be allowed to do so; and that they are hindered by the bailiffs of Roger de Lancastre in their right; and that their seizure is unjust, and a loss.

Here we come to the end of the complaints lodged against the forest officials, and come to some grievances alleged to have been caused by various property owners. The first is directed against the Lady of Gilsland, Maud de Multon, the heiress of Vaux of Gilsland. History shows her to have been a somewhat determined person, one hardly likely to tolerate anything in the nature of an encroachment; but here it is not shown that she exceeded her rights in any way.

Item, that though the men of Karlaton should have common of pasture both by day and by night, in Kynheure and Northescaw,†

* Close Roll, 15 Hen. III. m. 15, contains writs to Thomas de Multon and B. de Insula expressly forbidding the entertainment of the foresters at the charge of the men in King's desmesnes in Cumberland.

† Now Northsceugh and King Harry. They lie west of the road from Cumrew to Ainstable.

which is part of the land of the Lady of Gillisland, they are hindered by her bailiffs, so that they cannot agist their cattle on that pasture by night, but are attached at the pleas of the Lady.

They say that the men of Carlaton should have common on Kynheure and Northescou during the day, but have always been stopped by the bailiffs of the lady of Gillisland when they were found agisting at night. But as to whether this was lawful or not they can tell nothing.

Whereas the manor of Scotby, which is the King of Scotland's, lies close by the Prior of Carlisle's manor of Henriby, and the beasts from Scotby come at all times in the year upon the plains of Henriby, the servants of the Prior take for each beast one penny, or make attachments at the court of the Prior, though in times past they took but one hen with three eggs * as often as they were there.

They say that in the time of the King of England who now reigns, though the manors were in his hands, the beasts from Scotby when they came upon the fields at Henriby were seized and handed over on pledge and surety to the court at Henriby, to answer for the beasts. Similarly in the case of beasts from Henriby and Carleton to Scotby. At length the Prior and one John de La Mor, then bailiff of the manors for the King of England, thought it would be well to provide some other remedy between them; and they agreed that the men of Scalby † should give a penny for each beast, a penny for four pigs, and a penny for ten sheep, and the same for the beasts of Henriby and Carleton to Scotby.

Item, whereas the men of the King of Scotland in Cumberland are toll-free through the whole of England by the charter of the King of England, the Burgesses of Carlisle extort this from the King of Scotland's men in the aforesaid manors, and this is to the ousting of the King of Scotland and contrary to the tenor of his charter.

They say that the men of the King of Scotland ought to be quit of toll for all that they buy for their own use in any place, unless they buy anything to form merchandise. And whether anything has been exacted from them as toll for what they buy for their own use they do not know.

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* *Unam cokam cum tribus ovis.* The above appears to be the only satisfactory rendering. *Coka* suggests a cock, and *una coka* a hen. But the authorities come no nearer than a haycock, and this cannot be reconciled with the eggs. Another meaning is a pig (French *cochon*), does not fit the context, in spite of the association between bacon and eggs. Even the translation suggested is a curious form for the payment for the pasturing of cattle to take.

† *Sic.*

ART. X.—*The connection of a Kendal family with Rokeby.*
By JOHN ROBINSON, M.Inst.C.E.

Read at Darlington, September 14th, 1905.

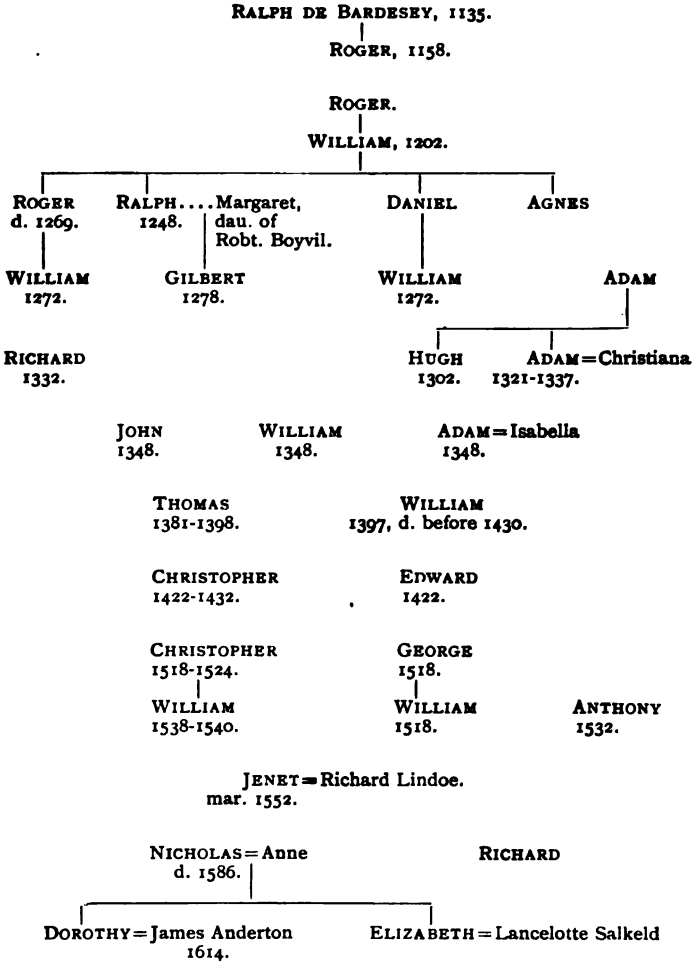
THE late Mr. John Whitwell, M.P., in a paper read before the members of the Kendal Literary and Scientific Institution in 1866, observed that a member of the family of Robinson of Rokeby Hall, who was connected by marriage with the Tolsons of Tolson Hall, lived at the ancient White Hall in Kendal. It may be necessary to point out to the present generation that the Town Hall, which was erected in 1825-27, now occupies the site and that the rooms were, until a few years ago, familiarly known as the Whitehall Rooms. The Robinson referred to by Mr. Whitwell as having occupied Whitehall was William Robinson, who settled here in the reign of Henry VIII. and who was engaged in the staple trade of the town. It is supposed that he carried on an extensive business in the exportation of Kendal cottons to Virginia and the West Indies. These cottons it may be mentioned were woollen cloths, referred to by Camden in his *Britannia*, where he says that Kendal

> is very eminent for the woollen manufacture and for the industry of the inhabitants, who trade throughout England with woollen cloath; and as early as Richard the second and Henry the fourth, we find special Laws enacted on purpose for the regulating of Kendal clothes.

According to Stuart in his *History of Armagh* the family removed from Kendal to Brignall near Rokeby, and again in the reign of Elizabeth to Rokeby Park within eight miles of Richmond. Rokeby was purchased from Sir Thomas Rokeby by William, grandson of William Robinson, who settled at Kendal.

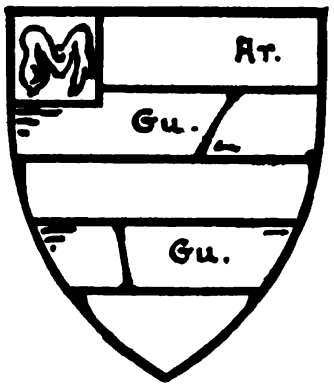
Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh, primate of all Ireland, who was the eighth in descent from William of Kendal, was created Baron Rokeby of Armagh in 1777. On the demise of his brother William in 1785 he succeeded to the baronetcy and became the survivor and representative of the Robinsons of Rokeby in the direct male line. He however did not inherit Rokeby Park, Sir Thomas having sold it during his lifetime, greatly to the chagrin and displeasure of his Grace. Lord Rokeby was a munificent benefactor to Armagh, founding not only the Public Library, which he endowed, but also the Armagh Observatory in 1791. During the last years of his life he had in contemplation the establishment of a National University in that city. It is interesting to note that the third astronomer at the Observatory was the celebrated Rev. Dr. Thomas Romney Robinson, son of Thomas Robinson, artist, a native of Bowness-on-Windermere. He died in 1882, aged 90.

Pedigree of de Bardesey.



ART. XI.—*Some Notes on the de Bardesey Family of Bardsea Hall, Furness.* By JOHN F. CURWEN, F.S.A.

Communicated at Conishead, September 14th, 1905.



WHATEVER may have been the origin of the name, the manor of Bardsea was certainly connected at an early period, and for many generations, with a family termed de Bardesey, spelt in the earlier deeds as de Berdesei. That they were of some considerable local importance and associated with the de Lancasters is shewn by the fact that they bore the arms of the barons of Kendal, viz.:—Argent, two bars gules, with the difference of a maunch argent instead of a lion passant gardant or, in the canton. It is noteworthy that four other ancient Furness families give the same arms—Broughton of Broughton charge the canton with a cross flory or; Preston of Preston Patrick, and afterwards of Furness, charge with a cinquefoil or pierced argent; Kirkby of Kirkby charge with a cross moline or; and Lowick of Lowick omitting the canton charge with 3 mullets gules in chief.

So far back as the year 1135, when Godard de Boyvil of Millum made a grant of a certain carucate of land in Coupland, named Fossa, in pure and perpetual alms to Ewan, the first abbot of Furness, we find the name of RALPH DE BARDESEY appended to the document as a witness. *Charters, Duchy of Lancaster*, Box B, No. 154.

ROGER, the son of Ralph, with many others, witnessed a confirmation by the Earl of Warren in 1158 of an exchange made, in order to consolidate their respective estates, between the aforesaid Ewan and Michael le Fleming, by which Michael held Bardsea of the abbey and the abbey held Roose and Newton of Michael. *Duchy of Lancaster Ancient Deeds*, L 342.

We next meet with the name in the year 1202, amongst the Lancashire Final Concords, when there was an assize of *mort d'ancestor* summoned between a WILLIAM, son of ROGER DE BARDESEY, and William, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, being tenant of one acre of land with the appurtenances in "Bardeseia." William de Bardesey quit-claimed his right in the land to the said prior and his successors in perpetuity, whilst for this quit-claim the prior gave him five shillings sterling.

Nothing very much is known about this religious house, said to have been founded by William de Lancaster I. It was evidently one of the "commanderies" or homes established in different parts of the country under the charge of the canons regular of the Order of St. Augustine, for the relief of the poor, decrepit, and lepers. It will be seen presently how that after a few more years the hospital was removed to a new site at Conishead where it eventually developed into a priory.

It would appear that William left three sons and one daughter—(a) Roger, of whom presently; (b) Ralph, who in the year 1248 is mentioned as rendering homage and service to the abbot and monks of Furness Abbey; (c) Daniel, who had issue a son William, mentioned in William fitz Roger's grant of land in 1272 to Gilbert, which is referred to later on; (d) Agnes, who gave to her brother Roger her land which was called Pychille in Bardsea. *Furness Coucher*, folio 172^{b}.

ROGER fitz William received from his father half a bovate of land in Bardsea, for which he rendered 8d. per annum. *Furness Coucher*, folio 172^{b}. In the year 1269,

Roger granted to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the monks of Furness, on behalf of his soul's salvation and on behalf of all his ancestors and successors, a certain portion of land in Bardsea, which his father William had given to him—*i.e.*, one acre and three parts among the coalpits in Alderfield—for the privilege of having his body buried within the abbey walls. *Furness Coucher*, folio 173.

WILLIAM fitz Roger fitz William was a witness to the deed of gift, previously mentioned, made by his aunt Agnes to his father Roger. It would seem that the small hospital at Bardsea was before this time removed to Conishead, as we find from the 2nd volume of *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum* that this William, son of Roger, granted to the newly established hospital at Conishead an oxgang of land in Bardsea, with a croft, in which the house of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem stood, with eight acres of land in Bardsea. In the year 1272, he also made a further gift of all his lands in Bardsea to his cousin Gilbert, the son of Margaret, in consideration of the said Gilbert paying to William, the son of Daniel, the son of William de Bardesey, and his heirs, 8d. in two portions—*i.e.*, 4d. at the Passover and 4d. at the feast of St. Michael. "Moreover I give to Gilbert the whole of the land called Pychill which Roger my father had out of the dower of Agnes daughter of William de Bardesey." Given at Bardsea on the 20th day of January, 1272. *Furness Coucher Book*, folio 173^{b}.

GILBERT, the son of Margaret de Bardesey, the daughter of Robert Boyvil. I cannot at present say for certain which de Bardesey was the husband of Margaret and father of Gilbert, but can only conjecture it to have been Ralph, who had predeceased his brother Roger, and that his son became spoken of in later deeds as the son of his widow Margaret. However, in the year 1278 Gilbert, for the good of his soul and that of all his ancestors and successors, granted to God and the monastery of Furness all his lands in Elliscales acquired by gift from his mother,

who had received it from William, son of Roger, son of William. *Furness Coucher*, folio 174; also *Dodsworth's MSS.*, p. 174.

At this time there was living one ADAM DE BARDESEY, who in the beginning of the fourteenth century left issue (a) Hugh, of whom presently; (b) Adam. The *Lancashire Final Concords* for 14 Edward II. (29th May, 1321) give a suit between John de Horneby and Adam de Bardesey and Christiana his wife, deforciants of a messuage and 14 acres of land in Hornby. Adam and Christiana acknowledge the said tenements to be the right of John de Horneby, to have and to hold to him and his heirs, for the which John gave them £20. And when, on the 29th of January, 1337, Sir John Harrington rendered homage and fealty to the abbot, John Cockerham, for half the manor of Ulverston and other lands held by him of the convent, Adam is mentioned amongst those who were present. *Furness Coucher*, folio 192^{b}, col. 2. He was also a witness to the charter of Ingelram de Ghuynes to the burgesses of Ulverston.

HUGH was a minor at the time of his father's death, and we find a grant, in the year 1302, by the abbey of Furness to Adam, the son of John de Urswick, of the wardship of Hugh fitz Adam de Bardesey, together with the lands and houses in Bardsea, for which the said Adam received 20s. To be held until the said Hugh attained the full age, at which time the said Adam was to restore all the said premises together with the body of Hugh. *Furness Coucher*, folio 175.

Here the genealogical thread is broken, and until further evidences are forthcoming I can only mention each scion of the house in chronological order.

RICHARD DE BARDESEY of Halton is mentioned in the *Exchequer Lay Subsidy Roll of Lancaster* for the year 1332.

In the *Lancashire Final Concords* for 22 Edward III. (27th October, 1348) there is a suit between WILLIAM DE BARDESEY and ADAM DE BARDESEY and Isabella his wife,

deforciants of 20 messuages, 2 carucates of land, 10 acres of meadow, 10 acres of wood, 40 acres of pasture, and a moiety of a mill in Bardsea, Ulverston, and Broughton. Adam acknowledged the tenements to be the right of William, for which William granted them to Adam and Isabella for their lives, rendering by the year a rose at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. After the decease of Adam and Isabella the said tenements were to revert to William and his heirs. JOHN DE BARDESEY put in his claim.

Among the pleas at Lancaster on Monday in the fourth week of Lent, in the sixth year of the regality of the Duke of Lancaster (17th March, 1381-2), we find that THOMAS DE BARDESEY was summoned to answer the abbot of Furness concerning the restoration of the custody of certain lands at Ulverston which appertained to the said abbot, in that William de Pennington, deceased, held the said lands of him by knight's service and by reason of the minority of Alan, the son and heir of the said William. Thomas replied that William de Pennington long before his death enfeoffed him, Michael de Harington, and John de Bretby of the said lands, and he produced a charter to this effect dated at Pennington on the feast of St. Michael, 42 Edward III. (29th September, 1368). *Furness Coucher*, folio 199^{b}. Then follows another charter dated at Millum, 20th May, 20 Richard II. (1397), in which Thomas grants to Elizabeth, the widow of William de Pennington, for her life, the manors of Pennington and Mulcaster, together with lands, &c., in Langler, Meols, and Gosford, which he held of the gift and feoffment of the said William, with remainder in tail to Alan de Pennington and his heirs lawfully begotten. *Furness Coucher*, folio 200. In the same month Thomas made a further grant to Alan and his wife Katherine of the manor of Langdan, with remainder in tail to his heirs if begotten lawfully. *Furness Coucher*, folio 200^{b}. Two years later Thomas makes another grant to Sir Alan of lands and tenements in

Borowdale, viz.:—Gaytschale and the Blakehall in the county of Cumberland. Dated at Borowdale Milnegrune, on the feast of St. Gregory Pope, 22 Richard II. (12th March, 1398-9). *Duchy of Lancaster Charters*, Box B, No. 167.

The second of these grants was witnessed by a WILLIAM DE BARDESEY, who was also present when, on the 25th of January, 1404, Sir Thomas le Fleming did homage to Abbot Bolton for his manor of Coniston. Among the Lancashire Fines for 1410 and 1411 this William paid fines for writs, and in the year 1430 there was another fine paid by the executors of William de Bardesey.

In a Return to a royal brief from Henry V. to the abbey of Furness, given at Lancaster on the 20th day of October, in the ninth year of his reign (1422), mention is made of a CHRISTOPHER and EDWARD BARDESEY as occupying lands at Bardsea. Probably these were the sons of William. Again, among the *Lancashire Final Concords* for 26th March, 1432, there is a suit between Christopher Bardesey and John Urswick, plaintiffs, and John Broghton, Esq., and Margaret his wife, deforciants of the manor of Bolton in Furness.

Two generations pass over till we come to another CHRISTOPHER, against whom the abbot of Furness made a claim for arrears of tithes, &c., at Bardsea. In the *Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings* for 9 Henry VIII. (1518) and for 13 Henry VIII. (1521), it is stated that Alexander, the abbot, trusting to the benevolence of Christopher and considering that he was a "gentleman born" and a near neighbour, devised to him about ten years before the Tithe Barn of Bardsea, with all manner of tithes of corn pertaining to the same, for the term of his life, he paying yearly for the same £4 sterling. Also at divers times the said abbot lent to Christopher, in his necessity, certain sums of money amounting to £20, for the payment whereof Christopher was bound in a "statut marchaunt." Afterwards, when the said abbot was in trouble and absent

from his monastery, Christopher "imbesselyd" the said statute. Instead of being benevolent, defendant had been most "cruell, unkynde, and maliciouse," and he had been put to "sumptuouse exspences and chardges." The said abbot had sent his monks to re-enter the tithe barn and to bring the grains to the monastery, but as they were in the fields gathering the same, the said Christopher had caused William Bardesey, son and heir of George Bardesey, with some 30 others to take with force and arms Edmond Curwen, plaintiff's assistant, and to beat him and imprison him in his house. The said monks were so frightened that they returned to the monastery without horse or tithes. The said Christopher is under-steward of "myche" lands in Furness under the Earl of Derby, who is so powerful in the said county that plaintiff dare not bring a suit against him, Christopher. On the other hand, the poor abbot and monks were indicted at Lancaster before Sir Humphrey Conyngsby, Kt., for their riotous behaviour, and were not acquitted.

In the *Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings* for 16 Henry VIII. (1524) there is another suit in which Richard Kirkby complains that he having several actions-at-law against Anne Kirkby, widow, for the manor of Kirkby Hall and Kirkby Ireleth, and being on Sunday next before Christmas last, one Rowland Thornborough, William Lancaster, William Kirkby, and Christopher Bardesey, with 20 or more riotous persons, about eleven o'clock in the morning at the parish church, the priest being "revessed at messe" there, in manner of war arrayed, at the command of the said Anne Kirkby grievously assaulted plaintiff, intending shamefully, without pity or mercy, to murder him, if God and good people had not well provided for him, so much so, that the priest, fearing a murder would there take place, did "unrevesse" himself and would not say mass.

WILLIAM BARDESEY, son and heir of Christopher, witnessed in the first suit that he had met the abbot coming from the "higstable" towards the church, and that he

had tendered 66s. 8d. in ready money as part payment. In the 1538, he was also a witness in the suit between Sir Robert Nevil and Sir John Nevil *versus* Thomas Lord Monteagle, farmer of the monastery of Conishead, *re* a claim to Swathmoor lands. Two years later (1540) he was one of the appointed commissioners to examine the reason for the destruction of the parish church of Ulverston, at the time when the parishioners prayed the King to grant timber from Cartmel to rebuild the church destroyed by the "hold stepill standyng in the middle thereof, which was false in the foundation, unknown to anybody, which suddenly fell down carrying with it the whole church."

In the *Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings* for 24 Henry VIII. (1532), we find that one ANTHONY BARDESEY, with Christopher Curwen and others, complain that they were seised of 20 messuages, 200 acres of land, 200 acres of pasture, 100 acres of meadow, and 100 acres of wood, with appurtenances in the parishes of "Kyrkebye and Wolverston" (Kirkby-Ireleth and Ulverston) in their demesne as of fee, and have been peaceably seised thereof for nine years and more, until the 24th day of December, 23 Henry VIII. (1531), when they were disseised thereof by Richard Kirkby and twenty other riotous persons, arrayed in manner of war, who still keep their forcible entry and possession, &c.

In the Ulverston Parish Registers, we find a JENET BARDESEY married, the third Sunday in August, 1552, to one Richard Lindoe.

The male line terminated with one NICHOLAS BARDESEY, whose name was included among the first governors of the Free Grammar School at Urswick, founded in 1585. He married Anne, daughter of William Banister of Hesington in Bolland, by his wife Anne, the eldest daughter of Thomas Preston of Preston Patrick and Levens. He died in the year 1586, leaving two daughters, of whom Dorothy, the elder, married James Anderton of

Clayton-le-woods, and Elizabeth, the younger, married Lancelot Salkeld of Whitehall in Cumberland. Nicholas' will is dated June 30th, 1586, and was proved at Richmond the same year. In it he devises his body to be "buryed in my parishe churche of Urswicke nighe to the place where the bodye of Anne Bardesey my wief was laid. Also I will that my sonne in layes James Anderton and Lancelotte Salkeld, which tow I make my executors of this my last will and testament, do, after my debts payed, take and have for their wyffes and themselves either of them a full childs porcon of my goods accordinge as I have by indenture covenaunted unto them; that done, I will and bequeathe all the resydue of my good and cattles as well reals as personals amongst all my doughters children," &c., with certain references to his kinsman Richard Bardesey.

About the year 1720, Mary Anderton, to whom Bardsea Hall had descended, sold it to Lord Molyneux for a hunting seat. A few years later it was again sold to Christopher Wilson, who married Margaret, the daughter of John Bradyll of Conishead Priory, and died in 1773. Sarah, his only daughter, married John Gale of Highhead, and he died in 1814. Their eldest son, Wilson Gale, took the name and arms of Braddyll and inherited Conishead Priory; their youngest son, Henry Richmond Gale, retained Bardsea Hall, and from him the present owner is descended.

ART. XII.—*Gleaston Castle.* By W. B. KENDALL, C.E.

Read at Gleaston, June 30th, 1905.

SIR JOHN HARRINGTON, first baron of Aldingham, was a much more wealthy and important personage than any of his predecessors at Aldingham had been, and to him must be ascribed the credit of founding the castle of Gleaston, the remains of which now claim our attention.*

The castle consisted of a quadrilateral enclosure, surrounded by massive walls nine feet in thickness, with a strong square tower at each angle. There is no trace of a central tower or keep, and the large size of the angle towers—especially the one at the north-west corner—indicates that a central keep was never contemplated by the builders. The enclosed area was evidently kept clear for the accommodation of the cattle and sheep of the manor, which would naturally be driven there for shelter when any marauding bands were in the neighbourhood.

The castle stands near the centre of the manor, on the highway between the villages of Gleaston and Scales. Its position is somewhat secluded, standing as it does in a valley surrounded by high ground on all sides. The hill to the eastward, known as the "Beacon Hill," rises nearly 220 feet above the level of the castle yard.

The material used in the construction of the castle was limestone, obtained from a quarry in close proximity to the site, and there are a few door and window heads and quoins of red sandstone, which may have been dressed out of boulders found on the beach about two miles away. There is no quarry of red sandstone within the manor.

* See also a paper on this subject by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., in these *Transactions*, vol. xiii., art. iv.

The mortar used has been of excellent quality, and seems to have been formed of Stainton lime mixed with sand and shells from Roosebeck. In part of the work at the south-west corner, however, mortar has been dispensed with in the centre of the wall and clay substituted, the face-stones only being set in mortar. The limestone has been roughly squared, but not dressed; and the whole of the work, though strong, is exceedingly rude and plain.

It is extremely improbable that any of the Flemings could have commenced the erection of so extensive a work. The south-western tower, if standing alone, might have been erected by the son or grandson of the first William de Furness, but the general character of the masonry corresponds so closely with that of the south-eastern tower, which is early fourteenth century work, that no great space of time can have elapsed between the dates of their construction.

Tradition tells us that the first Michael Fleming made Aldingham his residence, but owing to the encroachments of the sea he or one of his successors moved to Gleaston, and there built a castle or manor house. Encroachments of the sea alone would not necessitate a removal so far inland, but liability to attack from sea rovers might cause a change of residence to be desirable. Northmen were devastating the shores of the Irish Sea so late as the close of the eleventh century, and during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries their descendants from the Inner Hebrides and the south-west of Scotland often attacked the English coast—especially when the two countries were at war; and the establishment of the "sea wake" in West Cumberland and Furness shows that these attacks were of a serious character. They were most frequent and formidable during Stephen's reign, and Michael Fleming would then find Aldingham so open to a nocturnal surprise that his removal to Gleaston would be only natural. Assuming tradition to be right, the original castle or house at Gleaston was probably built

near the centre of the existing castle yard, with an enclosure for cattle on the south side, and possibly was irreparably damaged by the Scots in 1316.

No formal permission to erect a castle at Gleaston has been discovered; but under Stephen permission would not be asked, and the orders of his successor to demolish all castles so erected may not, in this case, have been attended to by Stephen's son, who succeeded his father as chief lord, even if we suppose that the assumed building was strong enough to be designated a castle, which is doubtful.

The difficulty of assigning any of the present remains of the castle of Gleaston to the Flemings also applies equally to the Cancefields. When Sir John de Harrington (the first baron) came of age, A.D. 1297, war with Scotland, after a long peace, had broken out afresh, and border raids were to be expected. The first portion of his work was the south-western tower, a part of the south wall, and 100 feet of the clay-hearted east wall extending northward as far as a square solid block of masonry, marking what was probably at first intended as the north-west corner of the castle yard. On the completion of this part of the work some modification of the plan is evident. The area intended to be enclosed is increased, and the foundations of the south-east and north-east towers are laid on an enlarged scale. This would be about the time when the great Scottish raids of 1316 and 1322 swept through Furness, and no doubt affected the design of the castle. The south-eastern tower was duly carried up to its full height, but the north-eastern tower was only built as high as the curtain walls, and there seems to have stopped. The south and east curtain walls were erected, and then the north-western tower was taken in hand. This is the largest of the towers, and was probably completed after 1340, when the possessions of the family had still further increased. The remainder of the east wall was built, but it is doubtful if more than the foundations of the north

wall were got out. Assuming the north wall was constructed, it seems to have been razed about the end of the fourteenth century, when what was probably a pleasure garden was added to the north side of the ward.

In 1458 the castle ceased to be a manorial residence, was dismantled, and speedily fell to decay. The dismantling therefore took place when the towers were comparatively new buildings, and indeed the castle was obsolete before it was finished, and was never fully completed according to the original design. The ward measures internally 240 feet long from north to south, and is 150 feet wide, excluding the north-east tower at the northern end, and 120 feet at the southern end. No traces of moat or ditch are to be seen, and probably none were ever excavated—certainly not on the northern and weakest face. No well has been found within the enclosure, but water from the neighbouring copious spring, which flowed past the southern end of the castle, was probably led through a culvert into a cistern near the south-eastern tower.

We may now proceed to consider the towers in detail.

The south-western tower is both the smallest in area and, at the same time, the highest of the four angle towers. It contains four storeys, each of a single room. The three upper floors have each a small closet built in the thickness of the south wall, and all the closets communicate with a vertical shaft situated near the centre of the wall. In ground plan this tower is not quite rectangular (the outer angle is 96° 46'), but it twists into an approximately square form as it rises. The outside base measures 33 feet 2 inches by 31 feet 2 inches. The room on the ground floor measures 14 feet 7 inches by 12 feet 11 inches inside, and is entered on the level from the castle yard. It is provided with no other opening of any kind except the door, which is 3 feet 7 inches wide. The first floor, reached by a stone staircase in the east wall, is provided with a fireplace and a couple of small narrow windows.

The room measures 16 feet 3 inches by 13 feet 10 inches, and possibly accommodated constables or officers of the manor, the dungeon below being a prison or a store. The second floor has no connection internally with the first floor, but is reached by an exterior flight of stone steps on the north side, with entrance door 2 feet 10 inches wide, having a pointed arch of red sandstone. The room measures 17 feet 6 inches by 14 feet 10 inches, and is provided with a fireplace and two windows.

The third floor 17 feet 6 inches by 16 feet 2 inches is similar to the room immediately below. The battlements are reached by means of a winding staircase in the north-west angle, surmounted by a small watch turret. The total height is 49 feet. Piel Castle is visible from the top.

The south wall of the castle yard is not "covered" (in a military sense) by any window in this tower, so it is possible there may have been a wide moat (now filled up) fed from the neighbouring spring protecting this south wall. The masonry of the interior of the two lower storeys is much rougher than that above, but there is nothing externally to mark any break in the construction of the tower.

The south-eastern tower is a two-storey building, 43 feet by 31 feet. The entrance is by a doorway, 3 feet 10 inches wide, in the west wall, having a pointed arch with a weather moulding above. There is a hole in the wall for the sliding bar that secured the door. The basement measures 25 feet 5 inches by 12 feet 9 inches, and the room above 26 feet 6 inches by 15 feet 6 inches. A small closet in the thickness of the wall adjoins each room, and from the upper closet a doorway leads out on to the south wall of the castle ward. This is the only instance of direct communication between tower and curtain wall. Each closet communicates with a vertical shaft in the wall on the same principle as in the south-western tower. There is a fireplace and two windows

on the ground floor, and a fireplace and four windows on the first floor. The fireplaces in all the towers have the flues carried up to the battlements. Access to the first floor is by a staircase (2 feet 11 inches wide) in the west wall, and there is a spiral stair to the battlements, surmounted by a watch turret, as in the case of the south-western tower. The height to the top of the turret is 40 feet.

There has probably been a cellar under the ground floor, which has been filled in with rubbish, access to it being by trap-door in floor.

The north-eastern tower was rather larger on plan than the last one, but it was built in the same style, with a shaft near the north-eastern corner. As already stated, this tower was never carried higher than the curtain wall on the east side of the ward, and this probably only on the north, east, and south faces of the tower.

The north-western tower stands on ground about 30 feet higher than the level of the south end of the castle yard; that is to say, on the highest ground within the area of the castle, and it is the largest of the set (92 feet by 53 feet 3 inches along the west face and 42 feet 7 inches along the east face). It was evidently built to serve as the baronial residence. The entrance on the south side led into a spacious hall (30 feet by 22 feet), lighted on the south, and flanked on either side by dungeons. Stone stairways led up to the living rooms, occupying the first and second floors, four apartments on each floor. Not much of this upper work, however, remains standing. A long passage in the north wall on the first floor communicates with a vertical shaft in the northern angle of the tower, which connects with the second floor by an arrangement somewhat similar to that adopted in the two southern towers. The windows in this tower are narrow, but their sandstone quoins and heads have been more elaborately carved than the ashlar work in the older portions of the castle.

Close to this tower, in the west curtain wall, is the

gateway leading into the castle yard. It is extremely simple in construction, being without portcullis or barbican; its proximity to the great north-west tower seems to have been considered a sufficient protection. The weakness of this entrance and the absence of a ditch round this angle of the castle (clearly its most vulnerable point) seems to shew that when the work was executed in the middle of the fourteenth century all apprehension of a serious attack had passed away.

ART. XIII.—*Urswick Church.* By the Rev. T. N. POSTLETHWAITE, B.A.

Read at Urswick, June 29th, 1905.

IT will be most convenient to start with the age of the church. Here I propose to walk round rather than surmount a difficulty. Most of the authorities appear to have expended their energies in fixing the date of the first mentioned vicar. I venture to suggest that this has practically no connection with the age of the church. Daniel le Fleming is the first named vicar, but not the first incumbent, since the church of Urswick was included in the gift of lands to Furness Abbey in the grant of Stephen of Boulogne in 1127. Somewhere about 1205, in a dispute between the monks and one of the le Flemings, the monks claim that the advowson had been theirs *ab antiquis temporibus.* In the précis of a Bull of Pope Honorius III. (*Coucher Book*) occurs the clause, "Note here that we held the patronage of the Churches of Dalton and Urswick before we were of the Cistercian Order, that is to say, as I suppose, when we were settled at Tulket." There is another précis of an earlier Bull to much the same effect (*Beck*, p. 184).

I come now to the dispute in reference to the nomination of Daniel to the benefice. The principal lord in the immediate neighbourhood was Michael le Fleming. He settled at Aldingham probably very shortly after the Domesday survey. His lands are specially excepted from the grant of Stephen to the Furness colony. In the time of the first abbot Evanus an exchange of land was made between the monks and Michael. The monks took Crevilton and Roos, *i.e.*, Newton and Roose, and gave in exchange Bardsea and Urswick, Urswick Church being

excepted by name from the bargain. The deed of exchange is undated, but it mentions the fact that the benefice of Urswick shall be held by Daniel, son of Michael, since it was given him by the abbot John. Now it is obvious that if this deed is between Michael and the first abbot Evanus there could have been no previous abbot John to bestow patronage. The earliest "John" was John de Cansfield, sixth abbot, and the first Michael, who is frequently mentioned as a party to the deed, would have been in his time of an almost impossible age. I venture to suggest that the following may be an explanation of the difficulty. Both parties wished to reap full value of the exchange. There were constant confirmations of the bargain. The monks had possibly acted *ultra vires* in concluding the transfer without the previous consent of their benefactor, and had to obtain a formal confirmation. Each of Michael's successors had in his turn to confirm the exchange, and I suggest that the mention of Daniel's presentation to the benefice crept into the copy of the first deed through the carelessness of some early copyist who knew of the dispute and of the arrangement arrived at in a later deed in reference to Daniel's appointment to the vicarage.* The le Flemings as lords of Urswick probably resented the fact that they were not at the same time patrons of the advowson, hence on a vacancy they attempted to nominate Daniel. The monks refused to forego their right, but accepted Daniel provided he was nominated by themselves.

This arrangement may have been not altogether acceptable to the le Flemings, and it seems possible that they then built a church at Aldingham in their own manor to which Daniel was instituted about the year 1180. It is perhaps worthy of note that the boundary of Much Urswick and Little Urswick runs between the churchyard and the present Sunday school. That is, the church is

* Several of the le Flemings bore the baptismal name of "Michael."

not in Much Urswick, or as some would call it "Michael's Urswick." I am endeavouring to claim Urswick Church as the first place of Christian worship in the immediate locality, with the exception possibly of Dalton. The monks of Furness claimed for Urswick the chapelries of Ulverston and Pennington. Pennington dates prior to 1135; Ulverstonians talk of the four "1's" (1111). The claim was at first apparently admitted, but the fact that the claim was made at all appears to prove that Urswick was regarded as an older foundation than either Pennington or Ulverston, since it is obvious that no claim would be made by a recognised younger foundation to lordship over an older one. In the long dispute between the monks and the le Flemings in reference to the advowson, no plea is ever put forward that either party is the immediate successor of the original builders of the church. Such a plea would have possessed great weight; it therefore seems safe to assume that even at that early date the origin of the church was lost in oblivion. Is it too much to assume that the church existed in pre-Norman times? *

There is an interesting line in a metrical version of the legend of the village submerged under Urswick Tarn. The verses were based on local tradition. I quote two stanzas :—

The peasants tell, that years ago,
In the time of the vengeful Dane,
A village stood where the watery flood
Now covers o'er the plain.

When the sun went down, its red light fell
On lowly roof and byre,
And the solemn knell of the vesper bell
Peal'd from the village spire.

* Strong local tradition assigns the present building to the beginning of the tenth century, *i.e.*, "more than 200 years older than Furness Abbey."

Are we to relegate "the vengeful Dane" to mere poetical license? In a prose version of the legend, which however makes no attempt to date the catastrophe, the present church is indicated, as the *Mater Dolorosa* on the west face of the tower is specially mentioned.

Coming to the building itself there is no distinctive mark of pre-Norman architecture; but the portions of the building that would show architectural variety have been altered from time to time.

The porch is probably very early Norman. The summit of the tower has been altered, the difference in the stone courses being noticeable. The windows have been renewed at various periods. Somewhere about 1850 a very beautiful Flamboyant window was taken from the east end, and the present one substituted. The tracery of this window and that of a smaller one removed previously from the south side of the sanctuary, were piously preserved by the late Mr. Wm. Cranke at Hawkfield. They have recently been given back to the church by the Earl of Derby.

I would note here to avoid future mistakes that the sketch in Jopling's *Furness and Cartmel* of the church of Urswick is incorrect; the line of the building is wrong and the tracery of the south window in the sanctuary never existed as he has figured it. The old glass of the present south sanctuary window, and possibly the lancet window, was rescued by the late Canon Gwillym. It came from the old east window and was distributed amongst the villagers. Canon Gwillym collected what he could and inserted it in the window at the cost of £20. The present east window was given by Mrs. Ashburner of Holmbank.

The lancet window contains the arms of Furness and Citeaux. Part of the Furness arms and probably most of the Citeaux arms are in modern glass. There are dotted about in the window most interesting fragments of ancient glass. The arms in the south sanctuary window likewise consist of ancient and modern glass.

In the eastern light the two top arms are those of Coupland and Kirby. The lower arms present difficulty. Mr. Harper Gaythorpe assigns them to Curwen. I have not been able to find the arms of Curwen thus blazoned; though there is a record of a Thomas de Corowen who bore arms *circa* 1277-1287, *arg. fretty gules.* I find that one of the le Flemings is recorded as bearing arms *arg. fretty gules over all a label of three points vert* (Glover's Ordinary), thus reversing the tincture usually assigned to the le Flemings. These arms in the window certainly are doubtful, as the field is entirely of modern glass, and was I think intended to be without tincture. The original may have been a metal or a fur. The *vert* is not a difficulty as the *fret* was often borne *cluée* or nailed at the intersections. In the western light the arms are Broughton, Pennington, and probably le Fleming. There is the head of a monk or saint in the window in ancient glass. It is not easy to decide whether the nimbus is ancient or modern.

The Flamboyant tracery of the old east and south sanctuary windows is remarkable, being rare in English architecture: it is, however, frequently seen in Normandy. I have surmised that it may owe its origin in Urswick Church to Sir William Harrington, who gave a bell (which we now have); he fought at Agincourt (1415) and was a keen supporter of various churches. The next window in the south side is an ancient lancet, the head being fashioned in the same manner as the louvres on the south-east and north sides of the tower. Those on the west side are different. Then comes a decorated window with glass of comparatively modern date. The next is a square window of distinctly Protestant utility; it used to light the pulpit that stood by it, and enabled the parson to read his erudite discourses. The next two windows are modern, being substituted for square-headed ones subsequent to 1850.

The porch is noticeable, until about 1850 the present

outer doors stood where the inner ones now are. The porch was simply guarded by the "cow chain." The parson as owner of the freehold grazed his cow amongst the tombs, but the wardens wisely drew the line at permitting it to use the porch as a "boose"—hence the protecting chain.

There is a story going of a farmer who had regaled himself none too wisely at the "General Burgoyne" entering the porch to slumber off the effects. When he awoke, finding there the chain, he imagined he was "in limbo" and was forced to wait for full daylight to realise his true position. Mr. Cranke can remember the time when mourners watched in the porch during the nights following a funeral to frustrate the evil designs of body snatchers. On the cheeks of the porch are graven deep furrows, said to have been made by those who, waiting for the morning service to begin, sharpened the arrows they designed for practising at the butts in the afternoon. The west window in the tower is of mediæval design. The door in the tower was walled up until 1850. The window at the north-west side is modern and was substituted for either one or two square headed ones (1850). The next window is ancient, the coloured glass having been inserted many years after 1822, the date of the death of the lady in whose memory it was placed. There were fragments of ancient coloured glass formerly in this window, including, it is believed, an ancient coat of arms. (Mrs. Satterthwaite and Miss Neale give me this information).

The window by the pulpit has been lengthened with a view to the parson's failing eyesight and difficulty in interpreting his MS. The tracery of the window in the north sanctuary is ancient, the glass comparatively modern. In the interior of the church may be noted the ancient piscina; also a curious floor brass, and a smaller one (on the wall) to a child who died at Bardsea Hall when that property was in the hands of the female representa-

tives of the de Berdsey family. An interesting flat tombstone is at the west end. It was found under the floor when the chancel alterations were made *circa* 1850. The inscription on the tombstone reads "Hic jac̃t Amicia filia Johañis Francissi." The design is a floriated cross with a pair of shears on one edge. John le Franceys witnessed a charter granted to Ulverston 1284.

The carved stone base of the alms box was found at the same time and same place. I cannot tell its original purpose. The old font was removed in 1827 and was preserved by the piety of the late Mr. Wm. Cranke; it has recently been given back to the church by Lord Derby.

I am inclined to think that the old font stood in the south-west of the church where the gallery stairs now are.* I can find no faculty for its removal, but a somewhat comprehensive faculty for re-pewing the church may have been made to cover this. The Gale pew, a gallery pew at the south-east of the nave, was erected by a faculty granted to Christ^{r} Wilson, Esq., of Bardsea Hall in 1759. It was erected to enable him and his "to hear Divine Service and Sermons." I understand (from Mrs. Satterthwaite) he had hitherto attended Aldingham Church, but that he had some disagreement with the rector there. I am suggesting that a hagioscope was then partially blocked up. A sounding of the wall round the present opening indicates a plaster, lath, and slate filling-up of space. In 1751 we have minutes of a meeting when the proposal to put up a ceiling was defeated. I imagine that the ceiling was however put up in that year, as one of the beams in the roof bears the initials and date I.R. 1751; they would hardly have occurred there unless work was going on in the roof. Above the ceiling is a fine timbered roof; the beams are joined by wooden pegs and bear the mark of the axe or adze. The ceiling was put up partly

* Plan on faculty, 1826.

for warmth (there was no heating arrangement) and partly for acoustic purposes. The pulpit previously on the south side had to be provided with a sounding board (Mr. Cranke). On the wall, within the roof, dividing the nave from the chancel are the remains of various mural decorations, the earliest being a palm leaf design of, I believe, pre-Reformation date. Irregularities in the walls by the pulpit and the porch suggest the former existence of mural monuments, and there is a small niche in the chancel arch that presumably contained an image. With the more modern mural tablets I will not trouble you.

In the vestry is preserved the old pitch-pipe. It has been stript of some of its bands. The choristers in older times were accustomed to leave their seats for the singing and congregate round the clerk in the chancel. Up till 1827 the choristers' seat was a large square one at the west end partly under the present gallery. A former clerk, Tom Turner, once was in difficulty in setting the key for the psalm before the sermon. The preacher was the late Rev. W. Ponsonby, vicar of Urswick. After the third ineffectual attempt on the choristers' part the rector interrupted with a deep voiced "Let us pray," but Turner informed him in language ecclesiastically inappropriate that the psalm would undoubtedly precede the sermon. Another or possibly the same clerk used to amuse the younger part of the congregation by always rendering the words "Forty years long was I grieved with this generation" as "audeous long &c." After morning service the clerk used to call the sales.* He went out of the porch a few steps in the churchyard and cried "Draw near! draw near!" and then gave out his notices. They largely consisted of stick-wood sales. Once he gave a warning against trespassing in a particular wood (Stoads Wood) and ended with the terrible intimation that if any persisted in going into the wood "they mud tak what they wud git." The

* Probably by a sundial now non-existent.

people took his words literally, either wittingly or unwittingly. They did go into the wood and they *did* take what they could get (this is one of the late Mr. Stables' stories, also Mr. Cranke's).

The Urswick people were notorious stick "laiters." We have amongst the church papers a statement signed by Parson Addison and certain parishioners to the effect that they pulled down a dwelling in one of the glebe fields (Turn Car or Rye-garth) because it was so mean that only the poorest people would live in it and they did more damage to the fences by taking sticks than they paid in rent.

I have spoken about Tom Turner the parish clerk. There were two of this name, father and son and another son William, commonly called Billy Turner, who were in turn clerks; Billy Turner was a blacksmith and had a smithy opposite the Derby Arms where the old village cross stood. Old Tom Turner was notorious for his roughness. He was very poor when appointed clerk, and as there were only the fees and a small yearly payment per house to the clerk, £5 a year was given him to keep him off the parish. This sum was claimed by subsequent clerks as their right. Old Tom Turner was very keen in looking after his fees; he used to say "he did not keer wha deed, or whar they deed, so long as they came to Ossick to be buried." He shocked people by his roughness and irreverance over funerals. The Turners were succeeded by Thos. Pickthall, and Pickthall by Mattha Jackson.

In 1826-27 the pews were re-arranged. Previously they were partly square ones and partly of the present shape. I think that there were then no faculty pews, with the exception of the Gale pew, but certainly there was an appropriation by custom. In a square pew where the pulpit now stands, sat an old Urswick family of Flemings; next to them the owners of Stainton Hall. The re-arrangement of pews caused at the time much heart

burning. In the plan for re-seating was incorporated the erection of the west gallery and the removal of the pulpit from the middle of the south side to its present position. The chancel rails were renewed about 1850; we have portions of the old ones. I think they encircled the Holy Table; they certainly did on the north side. At the same time the present unfortunate terra-cotta reredos and commandment tables were put up, and the altar piece of the Last Supper removed. The old Commandment tables are in the Sunday school.

In the tower hang three bells. The largest and most southerly was given by Sir Wm. Harrington of Agincourt fame; it bears the inscription :—

maría Wilelmus de Haryngton Dominus de Aldyngham
✠ et Domina Margareta Uxor Eius ✠

The next is inscribed :—

I. Fleming, R. Briggs W. Tomson Ch. Wardens 1711.

The last :—

Henry Houlme Vicor, Iames Shaw, Iohn Conskell
Churchwardens 1724.

There is room for a fourth bell, and in Edward VI. reign there were four. Report says a bell from Urswick was given to, or stolen by, the vicar of Dalton.

The custom of passing-bell ringing is this:—For a male, three strokes on each bell beginning with the Harrington bell, and then seven tolls on the Harrington bell. For a female, two tolls on each bell followed by the seven. Formerly an eight o'clock bell was rung every Sunday morning. I can find no trace of a curfew bell.

The carved *Mater Dolorosa*, or *Pietà* as the Romanists now call it, on the west front of the tower deserves notice.

In the communion plate there are two pieces of antiquarian interest. The chalice with cover bearing the

initials W.S. and the date 1571. Report assigns it as a gift from Archbishop Sandys. The patten is a large silver dish given by Chris. Wilson in 1751, with the arms of Wilson impaling Braddyll.

The alms dish of Nuremberg work was given by Mrs. Petty, Wellwood.

The priest's door has a curious old iron key now only used at inductions.

The floor of the church formerly was covered with rushes. The rushbearing took place in the autumn,* the various farmers bringing their contributions. The custom ceased in 1826 when the new pews were put in and the floor probably re-flagged. The late Mr. W. Stables often spoke of it. Mr. Stables was born about 1802. The grandfather of this Mr. Stables, a Mr. Taylor, was the first to own a winnowing machine in the village; it was made by the Deasons, who were wheelwrights and joiners at Hag End. Before the introduction of winnowing machines, the farmers used to take their corn up on Birkrigg and winnow it on the breezy heights. Mr. Stables used to show the spot used, which was called the "winnowing hole."

The earliest vicar named is Daniel le Fleming, given at a date varying from 1150-1180.

Nicholas Marshall was vicar from 1620-1660. Cromwell's commissioners say of him:—

> The Vicar officiating the cure of the Church is Mr Nicholas Marshall, both Vicar of the Church and Maister of a free scoole, but he is scandalous in his life and negligent in both his callings.

They seem to have recommended a certain Mr. Millington for the benefice, but Marshall managed to retain it. It is worthy of note that although George Fox had much to say about the iniquities of the various neighbouring clergy, at Ulverston, Aldingham, and elsewhere, we hear nothing

* In all probability on or about the Feast of St. Michael.

about Mr. Marshall's. I am inclined to think his negligence and scandalous life were simply political faults and inability to conform to the Independents' bigotry.

John Addison was inducted in 1747; he had previously been the schoolmaster, and then held, as many of his predecessors and some of his successors did, the dual office of master and vicar. He lodged in a cottage in Little Urswick now tenanted by Mr. Thos. Jackson the carrier. He paid 9/- per week for board and lodging, and when his landlady wished to make the charge 11/- per week, he exclaimed against the extortion and declared that sooner than pay such an exorbitant sum he would set up housekeeping; so he stayed on at 9/- (Mr. Cranke).

William Ashburner succeeded him in 1788. It is this vicar that so shocked Bolton the geologist by presiding at the cockpit, on the green opposite the present vicarage. He was probably, for all that, a useful vicar and schoolmaster. He published a Bowdlerised version of the Bible for the benefit of his scholars. Wm. Ponsonby, who came in 1805, used to pasture the churchyard with black cattle. His successor, Matthias Forrest, who arranged the tithe commutation, kept sheep in the churchyard.

The registers start with the year 1608.

LIST OF VICARS.

c. 1150	Daniel le Fleming,
1260	W. de Melmerbi.
c. 1288	William de Boivill.
c. 1381	Willelmus Normande.
c. 1404	Johannes
c. 1530	Thomas Herryson or Harrison.
c. 1535	Thomas Harteley.
1546-7	William Sawrey.
1554	Thomas Dobson.
1580	James Saier or Sayer.
1585	William Lindowe.

1620-1	Nicholas Marshall.
1660	George Inman.
1681	Thomas Inman.
1696	Richard Swainson.
1714	Alexander Bagot } rival presentations
1714	Henry Holme } Mr Holme remains.
1747	John Addison, B.A.
1788	William Ashburner.
1800	John Bailes.
1805	William Ponsonby.
1841	Matthias Forrest.
1861	James Gale, B.A.
1878	Robert Burland Billinge.
1902	Thomas Norton Postlethwaite, B.A.

NOTE BY HARPER GAYTHORPE, F.S.A.Scot.

In reply to the point raised on p. 195 about the arms *arg. fretty gules*, Mr. Gaythorpe gives the authorities on which he bases his opinion. "*Arg. a fret gu.* Thomas de Corowen, *E.* Roll circa 1277-87; Harl. MSS. 6137 and 6589.—*Arg. fretty gu.* Thomas de Corowen, *E. (ibid.)*—*Gu. fretty arg.* Cerouen, Hodelestone, *K.* Caerlaveroc Poem, 1301; printed in Grose's *Antiq. Repert*, 1779; ii., 107-284, from Cotton MS. Calig. A, 18; and by Nicolas, 1828, from the same and from another in the College of Arms; Harl. MSS. 6137 and 6589.—*Arg. fretty and a chief az.* Curwen. *Arg. fretty gu. a chief az.* Christofer Cnowene (in pencil Corowen) X. Jenyn's Coll. Harl. MSS. 6589.—Thomas Cospatrick, Weirkington, *Y.* Jenyn's Ordinary, partly printed by Nicolas, 1829, from MS. in the College of Arms; but of greater length in Harl. MS. 6589.—Curwen, Workington, Cumberland; as descended from Gospatric, Earl of Northumberland; the heiress m. Christian: (all these given in Papworth and Morant, *Ordinary of British Armorials*, 1874). J. de Curwen was rector of Aldingham c. 1275."

Mr. Gaythorpe also remarks that it is clear from the researches of Mr. W. B. Greenfield that Sir William Haryngton, 5th Baron of Aldingham (d. 1457) who gave the bell (see pp. 195, 200) now at Urswick Church, is not the Sir William Haryngton who fought at Agincourt, but a cousin of the same name. The confusion is the greater as they both married a Margaret, the former Margaret Hulle, daughter of Sir John Hulle, Knight, of Kyton, co. Devon, and the latter Margaret Neville, daughter of Sir Robert Neville of Hornby Castle. (See *Furness Lore*, pp. 95-96).

ART. XIV.—*An Index to the Heraldry of Cumberland and Westmorland.* By J. F. CURWEN, F.S.A.

LOCAL HERALDRY.

THE endeavour here is to group together our local heraldry so that a member may be able easily to ascertain the name of the bearer of any particular coat-of-arms depicted; firstly, by looking up the section relating to the "ordinary" or "charge," secondly, by referring to the colour of the shield, and lastly finding the exact description. In a converse way, it is hoped that by reference to the Index it will be possible to find the correct coat-of-arms borne by a particular person.

"Arms" were so called from their being originally a part of, or a pattern depicted upon, the most conspicuous portion of a knight's defensive armour—the shield. Then after the year 1200, when the shield began to diminish in size, it became the practice to embroider this distinctive pattern upon the surcoat which was worn until the fifteenth century, and hence arose the phrases "coat-of-arms" and "coat armour."

It is generally recognised that the "honourable ordinaries" of the heraldic coat were not mystical and arbitrary abstract inventions, but that they grew out of the structural requirements of the large wooden leather-covered pre-armorial shield. Metal straps and bolts used for strengthening purposes were gilded or fancifully painted. Instead of a

"fess" being a girdle of honour, or the "bend" representing a shoulder scarf, the gift of a lady-love to her knight, they were originally the signs of constant and heavy warfare. So also in the French language a "fret" is a band of iron used to bind a wheel or tool-shaft and prevent it from riving.

It will be noticed that I have kept to the more modern and simple term of "fret" throughout, as I am yet unconvinced that originally there was any essential heraldic difference between the expressions "fretty" and "fret." In all the Early Rolls, which were written in French, the fretted coats are spoken of as "fretté," which we have Anglicized into "fretty;" during the Middle Ages both terms seem to have been used indiscriminately whether the lines were carried to the edge of the shield or not, whilst at a later period many coats recorded previously as "fretty" were definitely described by the English word "fret." Dr. Haswell, however, does not agree with this view, and I am therefore the more grateful to him for his subjoined note.

The "charges" borne upon the shield were more or less allusive to the name, estate or profession of the bearer. But in succeeding generations, it was no uncommon thing for the bearer to follow a different profession or to change his estate and therefore his surname; or by marriage to inherit a more important coat: so that the raison d'être for the original pun or allusion has in most cases disappeared.

However, a few obvious allusions to the name still remain; as for example, the de Lucys, lords of Cockermouth, bore on a red shield three silver luces haurient. The lucy, pike or jack was also borne by one of the local families of Jackson. Hasell of Dalemain bore three hazel nuts; Fetherstonhaugh, three feathers; Cowdnoll, a chevron to illustrate a knoll, between three cow's heads; Sykes, three sykes or fountains; Oliphant, an Elephant; whilst Eglesfield bore three eagles in the field.

As allusions to the bearer's estate or profession we have the coat borne by the family of Ponsonby, viz:—On a red shield a chevron between three silver combs. The founder of the family is said to have been the hair dresser to the king, and hence the silver combs beside the knoll or head. Again Forrester or Forster of Stanegarth-side, hereditary forester of the great forest of Liddle Barony, bore on a silver shield a chevron vert (a green hill) between three black bugles with golden strings.

Our late President, Chancellor Ferguson, in the first volume of our *Transactions* adopts the theory of "Grouped arms," propounded by West. There exists a curious charter, dated the 26th day of February in the thirtieth year of Edward III, in which William, Baron of Greystock, usurping the supposed sole licence of the Crown, granted an augmentation of honor to one Adam Blencowe, who served in the French wars under the baronial banner. Greystock's arms were:—On a silver and blue shield three chaplets of red roses; and by this charter he granted to Blencowe the right to bear the Greystock arms as a Bend on a black shield. West, in his *Antiquities of Furness*, writes of this grant:—"This helps to explain the analogy that appears in the arms of many ancient families. Some probably borrowed their coat-armourie from the lords of whom they held their lands in fee; others assumed the arms of those families with whom they were connected in blood or allied by marriage; and many received arms from those to whom they were most devoted."

Chancellor Ferguson thus forms our local heraldry prior to Queen Elizabeth's time into thirteen groups, with a baron or earl at the head of each.

1.—The barony of Gilsland group:—including several families of the name of Vaux, the Richmonds and the Leighs, all of whom carry the red and gold chequers of Vaux.

2.—The Multon group :—comprising the Multons of Gilsland and of Egremont, two families of Denton, Martindale, Mulcaster, Derwentwater, and Austhwaite, all of whom had red and silver barred shields.

3.—The first barony of Greystoke group :—Greystoke, Redman and Hutton each bearing three cushions on his shield.

4.—The second barony of Greystoke group :—Greystoke and Blencowe with their chaplets of red roses on a silver and blue background.

5.—The third barony of Greystoke group :—Dacre bearing three silver escallops, his neighbour Layton of Dalemain bearing a Bend of Dacre counterchanged, Bouche of Cockermouth, Genton, Fallowfield and Strickland, all of whom bore the escallop.

6.—The barony of Cockermouth group :—Lucy, Brougham and Binham all bearing the luces of Lucy.

7.—The barony of Millom group :—Comprising Hudleston, Bella, Blunston, Cansfield, Curwen, Craunford, Dudley, le Fleming, Hamelden, Harrington, Ireby, Lewthwaite, Maltravers, Salkeld, Thornborough, Thwaites, Tunstall, Vernon and Willoughby, all of whom had the fret of Hudleston.

8.—The barony of Burgh group :—Engayne, Stanwix, Sandis and Southaik, each bearing a dancette.

9.—The barony of Kendal group :—The de Lancasters, Bardsey of Bardsea, Broughton of Broughton, Preston of Preston Patrick and of Furness, Kirkby of Kirkby, Lowick of Lowick, all of whom bore the two red bars of the barons of Kendal with various charges on the canton.

10.—The first Earl of Carlisle or Cumberland group :—Comprising the de Meschines, Warwick, Halton, Orton, Bird, Fairfax, Dudley, Pickering and Leyburn, all bearing a lion rampant.

11.—The second Earl of Carlisle group :—Comprising Harcla, Fletcher, Moresby, Orfeur, Kirkbride, Bouche, Ellis of Bothel and Thwaites, all bearing a cross.

12.—The third Earl of Carlisle group:—Hay and Hodgson, each bearing three escutcheons.

13.—The Earl of Westmorland group:—Vipont, Lowther, Musgrave and Helbeck, all of whom bore six annulets.

There have been five heraldic "Visitations" of our district, the first of which made by Thomas Tonge, Norroy King of Arms, in 1530 was very scanty. The next, made in 1580, was probably under the direction of William Flower. The others were made by Edward Knight in 1592, Richard St. George in 1615 and by William Dugdale during the years 1664-1666.

NOTE BY FRANCIS HASWELL, M.D.

Among the many West Cumberland coats of arms which have the fret or are fretty it is interesting to find two such nearly allied forms as Hudleston (gules fretty argent) and le Fleming (gules a fret argent), and as one knows that very many of the families who now have a fret have their arms recorded in the early Rolls as fretté, it is useful to enquire into the history of these two forms. It occurred to me that it was almost incredible that in those early times, when the right to a coat of arms was nearly a fighting matter, and such a

costly suit as that of the Scropes and the Grosvenors was fought to decide the right to "azure a bend or," that two close neighbours should have the same arms. It is necessary then to examine the older records in the shape of the early rolls of arms, and I find the first mention of le Fleming in Nicolas Roll Edward II., from which the following is an extract :—

Sire William Flemyng, de goules, frette de argent a une fesse de azure.
Sire Johan de Hodelstone, de goules frette de argent.

At this date then—somewhere between 1308 and 1314—there was a difference in the arms of these two persons; and I think it is a fair deduction that the Hudleston was the older family, and the Fleming held his lands in some way under him as superior lord, and had a grant of his arms with a difference, but it will be observed that both the arms were fretty.

In Nicolas Roll Edward III. (1337-1350), the following extract occurs :—

Monsire de Blaunemoster port d'argent fret de gules.
Monsire de Huddleston port le revers.
Monsire John Fleming de Westmerland port les armes de Huddleston, a une labell de vert.

It will be noticed that both arms are given as fret de gules, so that both coats were still fretty. I am aware that in West's *Antiquities of Furness* (p. 281), he states that the fret of the Flemings, "in honour of the first Sir Michael le Fleming, is strongly represented in stone over the second chapel in the northern aisle of the abbey," and also that a deed at Rydal Hall, dated 44 Edward III., is sealed with a fret; but as the stone at Furness Abbey is missing, I think he has used the terms indiscriminately, especially as he says (p. 267) that "several other families bear frets of more pieces," whereas a fret can never be more than the Harrington knot of a saltire and a mascle interlaced. With regard to the deed at Rydal Hall, I have not seen it, and I have my doubts.

I have no difficulty in saying that in the thirteenth century the fret as we know it did not exist, and if we take Nicolas Roll of Henry III. (1240-1245) we find ten fretty coats given, of which six are now frets, and no mention of a fret at all; again in the Roll of Edward II. (1308-1314) there are nineteen fretty coats, of which twelve are now frets, and the same may be said of the Roll of Edward III. (1337-1350), but in Edward II. Roll one coat is given (Trossel) as "une fret," but in Edward III. it is "port d'argent, fret gules les joyntures pomelles d'or." Also in Edward III. Roll the

Audley coat is given as "une fret," but in Edward II. as fretty, and the Editor says that the seals of the Audleys were at that time fretty. I think all this goes to show that a fret did not exist at this time; but that it came into use later, to increase the difference between those families whose arms were much alike and only differed in the number of pieces of the fretty coat, and that those families who used "fretty of six pieces" in which the ends of what is now the mascle came to the edge of the shield, gradually crystallized the charge, if I may use the term, until a fret as we know it was formed. I may illustrate this from the arms of Maltravers, which in St. John Hope's *Garter Stall Plates*, obviously shows the ends of the mascle overlapping at the edge of the shield; this is fourteenth or early fifteenth century work and would now be called fretty of six: but the modern coat is a fret, and *per contra* that those whose arms were fretty of eight, ten or more pieces such as Hudleston, Verdon, FitzRandolph, Sandeby, &c., kept to their original fretty coat. I cannot find any instances of the contrary occurring.

At what age the fret came into use it is difficult to say; as late as 1615 St. George's Visitation of Westmorland gives Harrington as "sa. fretty arg," and Dugdale in 1665 gives Hudleston as "gu. a fret arg," which it certainly never was, taking the terms as we use it; but in a manuscript book of arms of Queen Elizabeth's time I find several true frets figured, and no doubt earlier than that time it was in constant use.

PARTITION LINES.

1	Barry of 6, *or* and *gules*	RICHMOND [1]
2	Barry of 8, *or* and *gules*	MUSCHAMP [2]
3	Barry of 10, *or* and *sable*	SELBY [3]
4	Barry of 10, *argent* and *gules* on a Border *azure* 8 martlets *or*	DE MERLEY [4]
5	Bendy of 6, *argent* and *gules*	SISSON [5]
6	Checky, *or* and *azure*	de CLIFFORD [6]
7	Checky, *or* and *azure*	WARREN
8	Checky, *or* and *gules*	VAUX [7]
9	Lozengy, *argent* and *gules*	FITZWILLIAM [8]
10	Lozengy, *argent* and *sable*	CROFT [8]
11	Quarterly, *or* and *gules*, within a Border scattered with besants *sable* ...	ROCHFORT [9]
12	Quarterly, *or* and *gules*, within a Border vairy, *azure* and *or*	FITZPETER [10]
13	Vairy, *or* and *gules*	FERRERS [9]

THE BAR.

BLACK SHIELD.

14	3 Bars *or*, and 3 Mullets *or*, 2 in chief and 1 in base ...	WYBERGH [11]

BLUE SHIELD.

15	2 Bars *argent*, over all a Bend checky *or* and *gules*	LEIGH [12]
16	2 Bars *or*, each charged with 3 Martlets *gules*	BURDETT [13]

GOLDEN SHIELD.

17	2 Bars *gules*, and a Canton *gules*, over all a Bend *sable*	COPELAND [14]
18	3 Bars *azure*, on a Canton *gules* a cross patonce *argent* ...	ATON
19	3 Bars *sable*, and 2 Estoiles *sable* in chief	WYBERGH [15]

1, as given by St. George; 2, of Surrey, on Countess of Cumberland coat; 3, on Curwen coat; 4, on Greystoke coat; 5, of Kirkbarrow; 6, Earl of Westmorland; 7, Baron of Gilsland; 8, on Musgrave coat; 9, on Howard coat; 10, on Vipond coat; 11, of Clifton; 12, of Isel; 13, at Southwaite Hall; 14, of Bootle; 15, of St. Bees.

RED SHIELD.

20	2 Bars *argent*, and 3 Estoiles pierced *or* in chief	AUSTHWAITE [1]
21	3 Bars *or*	RICHMOND [2]
22	3 Bars gemelle *or*, and a Canton *sable*	BRIGGS [3]

SILVER SHIELD.

23	2 Bars *azure*	HILTON [4]
24	2 Bars *azure*, within a Border engrailed *sable*	PARR
25	2 Bars *gules*, on a Canton *gules* a cinquefoil *or*	DERWENTWATER
26	2 Bars *gules*, on a Canton *gules*, a lion passant guardant *or*...	DE LANCASTER
27	2 Bars *gules*, on a Canton *gules* a mullet *argent*	LANCASTER [5]
28	2 Bars *gules*, on a Canton *gules*, a cinquefoil *or* pierced *argent*	PRESTON [6]
29	2 Bars *gules*, on a Canton *gules* a cross flory *or*	BROUGHTON [7]
30	2 Bars *gules*, on a Canton *gules*, a cross moline *or*	KIRKBY
31	2 Bars *gules*, on a Canton *gules* a mullet *or*	KIRKBY [8]
32	2 Bars *gules*, on a Canton *gules*, a maunch *argent*	BARDSEY
33	2 Bars *gules*, and a Canton *gules*, over all a Garter *sable*	COPELAND
34	2 Bars *gules*, and 3 Mullets *gules* in chief	LOWICK
35	2 Bars *gules*, and 3 Cinquefoils *sable* in chief	DENTON [9]
36	2 Bars *gules*, and 3 Martlets *gules* in chief	DENTON [10]
37	2 Bars gemelles *gules*, between 3 Escallops *gules*	RAWLINSON
38	2 Bars *sable*, and 3 Martlets *sable* in chief	AGLIONBY [11]

1, on Stanley coat; 2, on Lowther coat; 3, of Ponsonby; 4, of Edenhall Church; 5, of Sockbridge; 6, of Preston Richard; 7, of Broughton-in-Furness; 8, of Kirkby Thore; 9, of Warnel; 10, of Cardew; 11, of Nunnery.

39 3 Bars *azure*, and
3 Lozenges *gules* in chief ... ... FLEMING [1]
40 3 Bars *gules* ... ... MULTON [2]
41 3 Bars *gules*, with a
Label of 5 points ... ... MULTON [3]
42 3 Bars gemelles *gules*, over all a
Lion rampant *sable*, and a
Trefoil slipped *azure* in the Dexter chief... FAIRFAX [4]

THE BEND.

BLACK SHIELD.

43 A Bend *argent*, charged with
3 Escallops *gules* ... ... LAYTON [5]
44 A Bend barred *argent* and *azure*, with
3 Chaplets *gules* ... ... BLENCOW [6]
45 A Bend checky *argent* and *azure* ... ... FURNESS ABBEY
46 A Bend flory and counter-flory *or* ... BROMFLEET [7]

BLUE SHIELD.

47 A Bend *argent*, charged with
3 Chaplets of Roses *gules* ... ... BLENCOW [8]
48 A Bend *argent*, charged with
3 Mullets *gules*, between
3 Fleur-de-lis *argent* 2 and 1 ... ... LEATHES [9]
49 A Bend *or* ... ... LORD SCROOPE
50 A Bend cottised *or*, between
6 Cross patée *or* ... ... BINGHAM [10]

ERMINE SHIELD.

51 A Bend engrailed *gules*, charged with
3 Mullets *argent* between
2 Cocks *gules* ... ... LAW [11]
52 A Bend *sable*, charged with
3 Pheons *argent* ... ... CARLETON [12]

1, on Stanley coat; 2, Baron of Egremont; 3, Baron of Gilsland; 4, of Caldbeck; 5, of Dalemain; 6, ancient form (see No. 47); 7, on Countess of Cumberland coat; 8, of Grisedale, second form; 9, of Dalehead; 10, on Ducket coat; 11, Lord Ellenborough; 12, of Penrith.

GOLDEN SHIELD.

53	A Bend *sable*, charged with 3 Lions passant guardant *or*	BRANTHWAITE & CARLINGILL

GREEN SHIELD.

54	A Bend checky *or* and *gules*	VAUX [1]

RED SHIELD.

55	A Bend raguly *argent*	PENRUDDOCK [2]
56	A Bend *argent*, having an Escutcheon *or* charged with a demi-lion rampant pierced through the mouth with an arrow, within a Double-tressure flory counter flory *gules*, between 6 Cross-crosslets fitchée *argent* ...	HOWARD [3]
57	Ditto ditto with a Mullet for difference ...	HOWARD [4]
58	A Bend wavy *or*, between 6 Crosses fitchée *or*, 3 and 3	ENGAINE [5]

SILVER SHIELD.

59	A Bend *azure*, and 2 Bars *gules*	DE MARTINDALE
60	A Bend *azure*, cottised *vert*, charged with 3 stag's heads cabossed *or*	STANLEY [6]
61	A Bend *gules*, charged with 3 Plates	BEAUCHAMP [7]
62	A Bend *gules*, charged with 3 Towers *or*	TOWERS [8]
63	A Bend checky *or* and *gules*	VAUX [9]
64	A Bend engrailed *sable*	RADCLIFFE [10]
65	A Bend engrailed *sable*, charged with a Crescent *argent*, and an Escallop *sable* in the sinister chief point...	RADCLIFFE [11]
66	A Bend *sable*, charged with 3 Escallops *argent*	DE LEVENS [12]
67	A Bend *sable*, charged with 3 Lozenges *argent* each charged with a Saltire *gules*	URSWICK [13]

1, of Tryermain; 2, of Arcleby; 3, of Greystoke; 4, of Naworth; 5, of Clifton; 6, of Dalegarth; 7, of Little Croglin; 8, of Lowick; 9, of Corby; 10, Earl of Derwentwater; 11, of Bolton; 12, of Nether Levens; 13, of Great Urswick.

68 A Bend *sable* between
2 Mullets *sable* ... ... BOYVILL [1]

69 3 Bendlets *gules*, on a
Canton *gules* a lion rampant *argent* ... BURNESHEAD

VARIED SHIELD.

70 Barry of 6, *argent* and *gules*, over all a
Bend *azure* ... ... MULCASTER

71 Barry of 6, *argent* and *gules*, over all a
Bend *sable* ... ... MARTINDALE [2]

72 Paly of 6, a Bend charged with a
Sword, pommel in base ... ... SANDERSON [3]

73 Parted per fess indented *or* and *gules*, a
Bend *azure*, charged with a Cinquefoil *or*, between
2 Martlets *or* ... ... BINDLOSS [4]

74 Parted per pale, *argent* and *gules*, a
Bend counterchanged ... ... CHAUCER [5]

75 Parted per fess, and per pale indented *or* and *azure*
on each of the latter an
Eagle displayed *or*, over all a
Bend *azure*, charged with a
Fret *or*, between 2 Martlets *or* ... ... AUDLEY [6]

76 Parted quarterly *azure* and *sable*, a
Bend *gules* ... ... DUCKET [7]

77 Parted quarterly *or* and *gules*, a
Bend *sable*, charged with
3 Escallops *argent* ... ... EURE [8]

78 Parted quarterly, *or* and *gules*, a
Bend vairy, *azure* and *argent* ... ... SACKVILLE [9]

THE CANTON.

ERMINE SHIELD.

79 A Canton *argent*, charged with a
cross *ermine* on a mound *vert* ... ... QUAYLE [10]

1, de Millom; 2, of Newton; 3, on Curwen coat; 4, of Helsington; 5, on Fleming coat; 6, on Howard coat; 7, ancient form prior to Richard II.; 8, on Pennington coat; 9, on Tufton coat; 10, on Lowther coat.

RED SHIELD.

8c A Canton *argent* ... ... BLENCOW [1]

VARIED SHIELDS.

81 Barry of 10, *or* and *sable*, a Canton *sable* ... ... BRIGGS [2]

THE CHEVRON.

BLACK SHIELD.

82 A Chevron *argent*, between 3 Escallops *argent* ... ... MILBOURNE [3]

83 A Chevron *argent*, charged with a Pair of compasses extended *sable*, between 3 Towers *argent* ... ... FREEMASONS

84 A Chevron *argent*, with an Annulet *sable* at the nombril point, between 3 Boar's heads couped *or* ... ... THURLEWALL [4]

85 A Chevron *or*, between 3 Griffin's heads erased *argent* ... ... SKINNER [5]

86 3 Chevronels *ermine* ... ... WYSE [6]

BLUE SHIELD.

87 A Chevron *argent*, charged with 3 Mullets *gules*, between 10 Cinquefoils 4, 2, 1, 2, 1 *argent* ... CARUS

88 A Chevron *ermine*, between 3 Boar's heads couped *or* ... ... ROBSON [7]

89 A Chevron *or*, between 3 Lion's heads erased *or* ... ... WYNDHAM [8]

90 A Chevron couped *or*, between 3 covered cups *or* ... ... CHRISTIAN

GOLDEN SHIELD.

91 A Chevron *azure*, between 3 Mullets pierced *azure* [9] ... ... CRACKENTHORPE [10]

1, of Blencow Hall; 2, on Philipson's coat; 3, of Armathwaite; 4, at Hutton John; 5, on Ducket coat; 6, of Sydenham, co. Devon, on Countess of Cumberland's coat; 7, of Grinsdale; 8, Earl of Egremont; 9, Lysons says "*sable*;" 10, of Newbiggin.

92 A Chevron *gules* charged with 3 ermine spots, between
3 Bows proper ... ... BOWMAN [1]

93 3 Chevronels *gules* ... ... CLARE [2]

GREEN SHIELD.

94 A Chevron *or*, between
3 Mullets pierced *or* ... ... PUDSEY [3]

RED SHIELD.

95 A Chevron *argent*, between
3 Combs *argent* ... ... PONSONBY

96 A Chevron *argent*, between
10 Crosses patée *argent* ... ... BERKLEY

97 A Chevron *argent*, between
3 Escallops *argent* ... ... GENTON

98 A Chevron *argent*, between
3 Lion's heads erased *argent* ... ... MONK [4]

99 A Chevron *argent*, between
3 Ostrich feathers *argent* ... ... FETHERSTON-HAUGH [5]

100 A Chevron *argent*, between
3 Luces 2 and 1 hauriant proper ... BROUGHAM [6]

101 A Chevron *argent*, charged with
3 Cross-crosslets fitchée *sable* ... ... BRAITHWAITE [7]

102 A Chevron *ermine*, between
3 Boar's heads couped *ermine*, tusked *or* ... PHILIPSON [8]

103 A Chevron, between
3 Dolfins fess-wise, embowed proper ... BLENERHASSET

SILVER SHIELD.

104 A Chevron *azure*, between
2 Roses *gules* in chief, and a
Dove in base ... ... CHARDIN [9]

105 A Chevron *azure*, between
3 Trefoils *gules* ... ... CHAMBRE [10]

106 A Chevron engrailed *azure*, charged with
3 Crescents *or*, between
3 Trefoils slipt *vert* ... ... WILLIAMSON [11]

1, of Askham; 2, on Clifford coat; 3, on Lowther coat; 4, on Rawlinson coat; 5, of Kirkoswald; 6, of Scaleshall; 7, of Warcop; 8, of Calgarth; 9, of Middlesex on Musgrave coat; 10, of Holm Cultram; 11, of Undermillbeck.

107	A Chevron *azure*, charged with 3 Garbs *or*	NEWTON
108	A Chevron *azure*, charged with a Mullet, between 3 Eaglets displayed *azure*	NEVINSON [1]
109	A Chevron *ermine*, between 3 Cocks *sable* beaked and legged *gules* ...	HENSHAW [2]
110	A Chevron *gules*, between 3 Gryphon's heads erased *gules* ...	TILNEY [3]
111	A Chevron *gules*, between 3 Hearts	BASKERVILLE [3]
112	A Chevron *gules*, charged with 3 Besants *or*	WAUGH
113	A Chevron engrailed *gules*, charged with 3 Fleur-de-lis *or*, between 3 Lions rampant *sable*	BIRD [4]
114	3 Chevronells *gules*	BARRINGTON [5]
115	A Chevron *sable*, between 3 Boar's heads couped *sable* and muzzled *or*	BARWISE [6]
116	A Chevron *sable*, between 3 Bull's heads cabossed *sable*	BOYVILL
117	A Chevron engrailed *sable*, between 3 Compasses expanded *sable*	GUILD OF HOUSE CARPENTERS AT PENRITH, 1723
118	A Chevron *sable*, between 3 Fleur-de-lis *sable*	BUSKELL
119	A Chevron *sable*, between 3 Raven's heads erased *sable*	SUTTON [7]
120	A Chevron engrailed *sable*, between 3 Raven's heads erased *sable*, billed *or* ...	DALSTON
121	A Chevron *sable*, between 3 Martlets *sable*	LAWSON [8]
122	A Chevron *sable*, between 3 Rooks *sable*	ROKEBY [9]
123	A Chevron *sable*, charged with 3 Cross-crosslets *or*	BENSON
124	3 Chevronels *sable*, with an Annulet for difference in the dexter chief	LAUGHTON [10]

1, of Newby; 2, on Ducket coat; 3, on Howard coat; 4, of Penrith; 5, on Hudleston coat; 6, of Langrigg; 7, of Heskat; 8, on Braithwaite coat; 9, at Askham; 10, of Heton.

125 A Chevron *vert*, charged with an Escallop *argent*, between 3 Bugles *sable*, stringed *or* ... ... FORSTER [1]

VARIED SHIELDS.

126 Parted per Chevron *argent* and *gules*, guttée *or*, and 2 Roscs barbed *vert* in chief ... ... CHARDIN [2]

127 Parted per pale *argent* and *sable*, a Chevron counterchanged ... ... LAWSON [3]

THE CHIEF.

BLUE SHIELD.

128 A Chief *argent*. charged with 3 Cornish crows ppr, and a Chevron *ermine* in base ... ... DAWSON [4]

129 A Chief *gules*, charged with 3 Cinquefoils *or*, and a Cross Moline *argent* in base ... ... THOMLINSON [5]

130 A Chief *or*, charged with a Lion passant *gules*, and in base a Chevron *or* between 3 Cross-crosslets *or* ... ... MAPLETHORPE

ERMINE SHIELD.

131 A Chief and Fretty *gules* ... ... THORNBOROUGH [6]

GOLDEN SHIELD.

132 A Chief *azure*, charged with a Snake coronee devouring a child proper, between 2 Roses *gules*, and below a Cross erminee, between 4 Martlets rising *sable* ... ... CHAMBRE

133 A Chief *gules*, and a Saltire *gules* in base ... ... BRUS [7]

1, of Stanegarthside; 2, at Edenhall; 3, of Isel; 4, of Penrith; 5, of Dalston 6, of Selside; 7, of Skelton.

134 A Chief *sable*, charged with
3 Escallops *or* ... ... GRAHAM [1]
135 A Chief *sable*, charged with a
Trefoil *or* ... ... RISHTON

GREEN SHIELD.

136 A Chief *argent*, charged with
3 Spur rowels *gules*, and a
Horse *argent* caparisoned *or* ... ... STUDHOLME [2]
137 A Chief *azure*, charged with
3 Martlets *or*, within a
Border *or* charged with pellets ... TOLSON [3]
138 A Chief *gules*, charged with a
Lion passant guardant *or*. The base
wavy of 6 *argent* and *azure*, thereon a
Castle between 2 roses *or* ... ... CARLISLE CITY [4]

RED SHIELD.

139 A Chief and 2 Bar-gemelles *or*, also an
Escutcheon of pretence *gules*, charged
with a
Fess checky *or* and *gules*, between
3 Garbs *or* ... ... RICHMOND [5]
140 A Chief *or*, and
3 Chevronels braced vairy in base ... WYVILLE [6]

SILVER SHIELD.

141 A Chief *azure* ... ... DE CLUN [7]
142 A Chief indented *azure* ... ... DE BEETHAM
143 Ditto ... ... BURTON
144 A Chief *azure*, fretty *gules* ... ... CURWEN
145 Ditto, with a crescent *or* for difference CURWEN [8]
146 A Chief *gules* ... ... WORSELEY [9]
147 A Chief *gules*, charged with an
Eastern Crown *or*, between
2 Woolpacks *or*, in base a
Saltire charged with 5 Besants *sable* ... JOHNSON [10]
148 A Chief *gules*, charged with
2 Mullets *or* ... ... ST. JOHN [11]

1, of Netherby; 2, of Abbey Holme; 3, of Bridekirk; 4, Modern coat (see No. 164); 5, of Highhead Castle; 6, of Johnby; 7, on Howard coat; 8, of Camerton; 9, on Parr coat; 10, of Walton House; 11, on Clifford coat.

149 A Chief *sable*, and
3 Chevronels braced *sable* in the base ... CLIBURN
150 A Chief *sable*, charged with
3 Escallops *argent*, and a
Lion rampant *gules* in base ... ... RUSSELL [1]
151 A Chief *sable*, charged with
3 Plates ... ... URIELL [2]

VARIED SHIELDS.

152 Parted per pale indented *ermine* and *sable*, a
Chief per pale *sable* and *or*, charged with
3 Escallops counterchanged ... ... GRAHAM [3]
153 Lozengy *or* and *azure*, a
Chief *gules*, charged with a
Lion passant *or* ... ... KIPPING [4]

THE CROSS.

BLACK SHIELD.

154 A Cross moline *argent* ... ... UPTON
155 A Cross *argent*, in the first quarter a
Cinquefoil *or* ... ... MORESBY
156 A Cross *argent*, in the first quarter a
Mullet *argent* ... ... ORFEUR [5]

BLUE SHIELD.

157 A Cross moline *argent* ... ... BENTINCK [6]
158 A Cross flory *or* ... ... WARD [7]

ERMINE SHIELD.

159 A Cross flory *or*, between
4 Annulets *azure* ... ... WARD [8]
160 A Cross flory *azure*, fretty *or* ... ... LEWTHWAITE [9]
161 A Cross *sable* ... ... BOIS [10]

1, second Earl of Bedford on Countess Cumberland coat; 2, of Cockermouth; 3, of Edmond Castle; 4, on Ducket coat; 5, of Highclose in Plumbland; 6, Duke of Portland; 7, of co. York on Musgrave coat; 8, on Duckett coat; 9, of Broadgate in Millom; 10, on Howard coat.

GOLDEN SHIELD.

162	A Cross bend *erminois*	BACKHOUSE [1]
163	A Cross flory *gules*	CARLISLE [2]
164	A Cross pattée *gules*, between 4 Roses *gules* and a fifth on the cœur point	CARLISLE CITY [3]
165	A Cross *sable*	VESCY [4]
166	A Cross *sable*, charged with 5 Crescents *argent*	ELLIS
167	A Cross *sable*, charged with 5 Escallops *argent*	BOUCHE [5]
168	A Cross flory *sable*	LAMPLUGH
169	A Cross moline *vert*	DAUBENNY [6]

RED SHIELD.

170	A Cross flory	DELAMORE [7]

SILVER SHIELD.

171	A Cross engrailed *gules*...	INGLETHORPE [8]
172	A Cross moline *gules*	UVEDALE [9]
173	A Cross *gules*, in the first quarter a Martlet *sable*	HARCLA [10]
174	A Cross *gules*. charged with 5 Mullets *or*	SEMARK [11]
175	A Cross engailed *sable*	KIRKBRIDE [12]
176	A Cross *sable*, charged Fretty *or*	THWAITES [13]
177	A Cross *sable*, charged with a Mitre labelled *or*	BP. OF CARLISLE
178	A Cross engrailed *sable*, between 4 Roundels *sable* each charged with a Pheon *argent*	FLETCHER [14]
179	A Cross lozengy *vert*, over all a Bend checky *ermine* and *azure*... ...	BRADDYLL [15]
180	A Cross engrailed vert	KIRKBRIDE [16]

1, of Morland; 2, of Kirkbampton; 3, Ancient coat (see 138); 4, Baroness of; 5, of Cockermouth; 6, at St. Andrew's, Penrith; 7, at Catterlen Hall; 8, of Cambridge on Huddleston coat; 9, on Howard coat; 10, Earl of Carlisle; 11, on Countess of Cumberland coat; 12, of Ellerton (Hesket); 13, of Ewanrigg; 14, of Cockermouth and Hutton; 15, of Ulverston; 16, of Cumberland.

VARIED SHIELDS.

181 Parted per pale *or* and *vert*, a Cross moline *gules* ... ... INGHAM [1]

THE FESS.

BLACK SHIELD.

182 A Fess *or*, between 3 Asses passant *argent* ... ... ASKEW [2]

BLUE SHIELD

183 A Fess *argent*, between 3 Chevrons *argent* ... ... TENDRINGE [3]

184 A Fess *argent*, charged with a Cornish chough proper, between 3 Fleur-de-lis *or* ... ... SKELTON [4]

185 A Fess *erminois*, between 3 Sheldrakes proper ... ... JACKSON [5]

186 A Fess *gules* edged *argent*, between 3 Fleur-de-lis *or* ... ... SKELTON [6]

187 A Fess *or*, charged with an Annulet *sable*, between 3 Saltires *argent* ... ... GOLDSTONE [7]

188 A Fess *or*, between 3 Leopard's heads *or* ... ... DE LA POLE [8]

GOLDEN SHIELD.

189 A Fess *azure*, with 3 Hurts *azuré* in chief ... ... COLVILLE [9]

190 A Fess *azure*, charged with 3 Crescents *argent*, between 3 Hazel slips proper ... ... HASELL [10]

191 A Fess checky *azure* and *argent*, a Chevron *gules* in chief ... ... ? [11]

192 A Fess checky *or* and *gules*, between 3 Garbs *gules*, banded *or* ... ... VAUX [12]

1, on Fleming coat; 2, of Kendal; 3, on Howard coat; 4, of Armathwaite; 5, of Richmond on Ducket coat; 6, of High House; 7, on Ducket coat; 8, on Fleming coat; 9, at Edenhall Church; 10, of Dalemain; 11, on Graham coat; 12, of Catterlen.

193 A Fess *gules*, between
2 Chevrons *gules* ... ... CALDER ABBEY

194 A Fess *gules*, between
3 Crescents, 2 and 1, *gules* ... ... BOYNTON

195 A Fess dancetté *gules*, between
3 Cross-crosslets fitchée *gules* ... ... SANDYS

196 A Fess *gules*
3 Torteaux in chief ... ... LORD WAKE [1]

197 A Fess *sable*, between
2 chevronels *sable* ... ... DE LISLE

198 A Fess *sable*, between
3 Greyhounds current *sable* 2 and 1 ... PATRICKSON [2]

199 A Fess *sable*, between
3 Greyhounds current *sable*, charged with a
crescent for difference ... ... PATRICKSON [3]

200 A Fess *vairy* and *ermine*, between
3 Cinquefoils *sable* ... ... BRISCO

GREEN SHIELD.

201 A Fess *or*, between
3 Fleur-de-lis *or* ... ... SKELTON [4]

RED SHIELD.

202 A Fess *azure*, charged with
3 Church bells *or*, within a
Border engrailed *argent* [5] ... ... PORTER [6]

203 A Fess checky *or* and *gules*, between
6 Garbs banded *or* ... ... VAUX [7]

204 A Fess checky *or* and *sable*, between
6 Crosses pattée fitchée *or* ... ... BOTELAR [8]

205 A Fess *or*, between
6 Cross-crosslets *or* ... ... BEAUCHAMP

206 A Fess *or*, between
3 Cushions *argent*, tasseled *or*, each
charged with a
Fleur-de-lis *gules*, on a
Canton *azure*, a faulchion *argent*, the hilt
and pommel *or* ... ... HUTTON [9]

207 A Fess between
2 Chevrons *vairy* ... ... GOODYER [10]

1, of Liddell; 2, of Calder Abbey; 3, of Caswell How; 4, of Branthwaite; 5, St. George says:—"On a Fess *or* 3 bells, etc., *azure*"; 6, of Alwardby; 7, of Torcrossock; 8, of Wemme, on Howard coat; 9, of Hutton John; 10, on Lowther coat.

SILVER SHIELD.

208 A Fess *azure*, charged with an Anchor and 2 lion's heads erased *or* between 3 Saltires *azure* ... ... GALE [1]

209 A Fess compony *or* and *sable*, between 3 Bear's heads erased *gules* ... ... BIRKBECK [2]

210 A Fess and dexter canton *gules* ... ... WOODVILLE [3]

211 A Fess *gules*, between 3 Blackbirds within a Border *gules* [4] ... ... ALLISON [5]

212 A Fess dancetté *gules*, between 3 Cross-crosslets botonnée fitchée *or* ... STANWIX

213 A Fess *gules*, charged with 3 Cushions *argent*, buttoned *or* ... WARCOP [6]

214 A Fess dancetté *gules*, a Human heart proper in chief, between 2 Nails *sable* meeting at points on the summit of fess, a 4 Cross-crosslets fitchée *sable* in base ... SOUTHAIC [7]

215 A Fess *gules*, between 3 Parroquets *vert* ... ... LUMLEY

216 A Fess *sable*, cottised wavy *gules*, between 6 Martlets *sable* ... ... WALSH [8]

217 A Fess dancetté *sable*, between 10 Billets *sable* ... ... DEINCOURT

218 A Fess *sable*, between 6 Cross-crosslets *sable* ... ... LAYTON [9]

219 A Fess *sable*, between 3 Colts *sable* ... ... COLTHURST [10]

220 A Fess *sable*, charged with 3 Fleur-de-lis *or* ... ... PATTENSON [11]

221 A Fess *sable*, between 3 Garbs banded *sable* ... ... BLENKINSOP [12]

222 A Fess engrailed *sable*, between 3 Martlets *sable* ... ... OSMUNDERLEY [13]

223 A Fess *sable* 3 Mullets *gules* in chief ... ... IRTON

224 A Fess *sable*, charged with 3 Stag's heads cabossed *or* ... ... HUTTON [14]

1, of Ulverston; 2, of Hornby; 3, on Howard coat; 4, St. George's Visitation gives this as a border *sable*; 5, of Yardsley Hall; 6, of Smardale: 7, of Skelton; 8, of Armathwaite; 9, at Greystoke; 10, at Askham; 11, of Melmerby; 12, of Helbeck; 13, of Langrigg; 14, of Penrith.

VARIED SHIELDS.

225 Checky *or* and *azure*, a Fess *gules* ... ... CLIFFORD [1]
226 Vairy *argent* and *sable*, a Fess *gules* ... ... BRESBY [2]

THE FLANCH.

SILVER SHIELD.

227 2 Flanches *sable*, each charged with a Lion passant *argent*, and having 3 Martlets *sable* pale-wise between them BROWNE [3]

THE FRET.

BLACK SHIELD.

228 A Fret *argent* ... ... LORD HARRINGTON
229 A Fret *argent*, and a Label of 3 points *argent* ... ... HARRINGTON [4]
230 A Fret of six *or* ... ... MALTRAVERS [5]

GREEN SHIELD.

231 A Fret of six *argent* ... ... SALKELD [6]
232 A Fret of six *argent* with a Canton *gules* for difference ... ... SALKELD [7]

... RED SHIELD.

233 A Fret *argent* ... ... HUDLESTON [8]
234 A Fret of six *argent* ... ... FLEMING [9]
235 A Fret *or* ... ... AUDLEY [10]

1, younger branch; 2, of Penrith; 3, of Tallantire; 4, of Cartmel; 5, on Fleming coat; 6, of Rosgill; 7, of Whitehall; 8, of Millom and Hutton John; 9, of Rydal; 10, on Stanley coat.

SILVER SHIELD.

236 A Fret of six *gules* ... ... BLUNSTON
237 A Fret *gules*, with a Chief *azure* ... ... CURWEN
238 A Fret *gules*, with a Chief *azure*, charged with a crescent *or* for difference ... ... CURWEN [1]
239 A Fret of six *sable* ... ... VERNON
240 A Fret *sable*, and a Canton *sable*... ... ... IREBY
241 A Fret *vert* ... ... BOYVILL

VARIED SHIELDS.

242 Azure, powdered de-lis, Fretty *or* ... ... MORVILL [2]

THE LOZENGE.

BLUE SHIELD.

243 5 Lozenges fess-wise *or* ... ... PERCY

GOLD SHIELD.

244 5 Lozenges conjoined in fess *azure* ... PENNINGTON

SILVER SHIELD.

245 3 Lozenges conjoined in fess *vert*, between 3 Roses 2 and 1 *gules*, barbed and seeded proper ... ... FELL [3]

THE ORLE.

RED SHIELD.

246 An Orle *argent*... ... ... BALIOL

1, of Camerton; 2, of Isel; 3, of Swarthmoor.

THE PALE.

Black Shield.

247 A Pale *argent*, charged with a Crozier *sable* ... ... Furness Abbey

THE SALTIRE.

Black Shield.

248 A Saltire *argent* ... ... Ducket [1]
249 2 Saltires *argent*, in chief and 3 Annulets, 2 and 1, *argent* in base ... Hilton [2]

Red Shield.

250 A Saltire *argent*, charged with a Rose *gules*, barbed and seeded proper ... Nevil
251 A Saltire *argent*, between 12 Cross-crosslets *or* ... ... Windsor [1]

Silver Shield.

252 A Saltire engrailed *sable* ... ... Middleton [3]
253 A Saltire engrailed *vert*... ... ... Kirkbride [4]

VARIOUS CHARGES.

Black Shield.

254 3 Church bells *argent* ... ... Porter [5]
255 3 Combs *argent* ... ... Tunstall
256 3 Covered cups *argent* ... ... Warcop
257 3 Dove-cots *argent* ... ... Sapcote [6]
258 Eagle displayed *ermine*, within a Border *argent* ... ... Tufton [7]
259 3 Escallops *argent* ... ... Strickland
260 3 Escallops *argent*, within a Border engrailed *argent* ... ... Strickland [8]

1, of Grayrigg; 2, of Warcop; 3, of Kirkby Lonsdale; 4, of Northumberland; 5, of Weary Hall; 6, on Countess of Cumberland coat; 7, Earls of Thanet; 8, after Bishop Strickland's time.

261 3 Escallops *or* ... ... FALLOWFIELD [1]
262 5 Escallops *argent* ... ... BOUCHE [2]
263 3 Greyhounds courant *argent*, collared *or*... MACHEL [3]
264 Griffin erect with spread wings *argent*, and 2 Cross-crosslets fitchée *argent* ... FROXMERE [4]
265 Lion passant *argent* ... ... TAYLOR DE CARLISLE
266 Lion passant *or*, between 3 Tilting helmets *or* ... ... COMPTON [5]
267 Lion rampant *argent*, crowned *or* ... SEGRAVE [6]
268 3 Lions rampant *argent*... ... ... ENGLISH
269 3 Lioncels *argent* ... ... TALBOT [7]
270 Maunche *argent*, within a Border engrailed *or*, charged with lion's paws salter-wise *gules* ... ... WHARTON
271 Wolf's head erased *argent* ... ... LUPUS [8]

BLUE SHIELD.

272 6 Annulets, 3, 2 and 1, *or* ... ... MUSGRAVE [9]
273 3 Arrows erect *or* ... ... CHALDECOT [10]
274 3 Cinquefoils pierced *argent* ... ... FITTON [11]
275 3 Crescents *argent* ... ... THORPE [12]
276 3 Garbs *or* ... ... EARL OF CHESTER
277 3 Griffin's heads erased *or* ... ... GARNETT [13]
278 Lion rampant *argent*, gutté-de-sang langued, and armed *gules* ... ... LE BRUN [14]
279 3 Lions rampant *argent* ... ... WARWICK
280 6 Lioncels rampant, 3, 2 and 1, *argent* langued and membered *gules* ... ... LEYBURN
281 3 Murdering chain-shots *or* ... ... EARL OF CUMBERLAND
282 3 Stags trippant *or* ... ... GREEN
283 2 Stars *or* in chief, and a Crescent *or* in point ... ... DODDING
284 3 Steel caps *or* ... ... LUTWIDGE [15]
285 3 Storks rising proper ... ... GIBSON [16]
286 Tower *argent* ... ... DE LA TOUR [17]

1, of Great Strickland; 2, of Cockermouth; 3, of Crackenthorp; 4, of co. Worcester on Countess of Cumberland coat; 5, Earl of Northampton; 6, on Howard coat; 7, of Bashall, co. York; 8, on Howard coat; 9, of Edenhall; 10, on Ducket coat; 11, on Howard coat; 12, of Norfolk on Howard coat; 13, of Westmorland; 14, on Curwen coat; 15, of Holm Rook; 16, of Barfield; 17, of Berwick co. Dorset on Countess of Cumberland coat.

287 Tower, triple-towered *argent* ... ... TOWRY [1]
288 3 Trouts entwined *argent* ... ... TROUTBECK [2]
289 2 Ears of Big Wheat fess-wise, stalked and bladed *or* ... ... BIGLAND
290 Lion rampant *or*, the field Powdered with cross crosslets... ... BRAOSE [3]

ERMINE SHIELD.

291 3 Bows *gules* palewise ... ... BOWES
292 Cross-bow bent *sable*, pointed downwards, between 3 Moor-cocks, *sable* ... ... HIGHMORE [4]
293 Lion rampant *azure*, crowned *or*... ... PICKERING [5]
294 Lion rampant *gules*, crowned *or* ... ... TURBERVILLE [6]

GOLDEN SHIELD.

295 6 Annulets *gules*, 3, 2 and 1 ... ... VIPONT [7]
296 6 Annulets *sable*, 3, 2 and 1 ... ... LOWTHER
297 Boar passant *sable*, armed *gules* ... ... GILPIN [8]
298 Bugle-horn, garnished and furnished *sable* BRAITHWAITE [9]
299 3 Cinquefoils *sable* ... ... DYKES
300 3 Crescents *azure* ... ... RIBTON
301 3 Fleur-de-lis *sable* ... ... BEETHAM
302 3 Sinister gauntlets *gules* and a Canton *gules*... ... ... FLETCHER VANE [10]
303 Lion rampant *gules*, his tail erected ... DE MESCHINES
304 Lion rampant *vert*, his tail forked langued and armed *gules* ... ... DUDLEY [11]
305 Lion's paws *gules*, in pairs placed salter-wise ... ... WHARTON [12]
306 Parrot *vert* ... ... SENHOUSE
307 2 Swords proper placed salter-wise, hilts and pommels *sable*, between 3 Hearts *gules* in chief, and 2 Cinquefoils in fess and 1 in base, all within a Border *azure* ... ... HEWART [13]

1, of Croglin Hall; 2, at Newton Reigny; 3, on Mowbray coat; 4, of Armathwaite; 5, of Killington; 6, on Ducket coat; 7, of Alston; 8, of Kentmere; 9, of Ambleside; 10, of Hutton and Armathwaite; 11, of Yanwath; 12, original coat (see No. 270); 13, of Carlisle.

GREEN SHIELD.

308	Lion rampant *argent*	BOLBECK [1]
309	Lion rampant *argent* Crowned and armed *gules*	ORTON
310	3 Flint stones *argent*	FLINT [2]

RED SHIELD.

311	6 Annulets *or*, 3, 2 and 1	VIPONT [3]
312	6 Annulets *or*, within a Border engrailed *argent*	HELBECK [4]
313	3 Aspen leaves *argent*	COGAN [5]
314	3 Boar's heads *argent*, the field Powdered with cross-crosslets *argent* ...	SWINBURNE [6]
315	3 Water Bougets [7] *argent*	ROOS
316	Cinquefoil *or*, pierced *gules*	BEWLEY
317	3 Cushions *argent*	GREYSTOKE [8]
318	3 Cushions *ermine*, buttons and tassels *or*...	REDMAN
319	3 Escallops *argent*	DACRE
320	6 Escallops *argent*	SCALES [9]
321	3 Herrings hauriant *argent*	HERRING [10]
322	Lion rampant *argent*, armed and langued *azure*	MOWBRAY
323	Lion rampant *argent*, over all a Bendlet *azure*	TILLIOL
324	Lion rampant *argent*, charged on the shoulder with a Fleur-de-lis *azure*	ALDEBURGH [11]
325	Lion rampant *or*	ALBANY [9]
326	3 Lions passant guardant pale-wise *or*, a Label of 3 points *argent* in chief ...	BROTHERTON [9]
327	3 Lions rampant *or*	HERBERT [12]
328	3 Luces or Pikes, hauriant *argent* ...	BARON LUCY [13]

SILVER SHIELD.

329	2 Bears passant *sable*	ESTREAVERS
330	3 Bugles *sable*, garnished *or*, stringed *gules*	BELLINGHAM
331	3 Chaplets of roses *gules*	LASCELLES [14]

1, on Greystoke coat; 2, on Earl of Cumberland coat; 3, of Appleby; 4, of Brough; 5, of Greenwich on Musgrave coat; 6, Hughthwaite; 7, from French *Bougette*=a small leather bag; 8, first family; 9, on Howard coat; 10, on Countess of Cumberland coat; 11, on Redman coat; 12, of Cockermouth; 13, Earl of Pembroke; 14, at St. Andrew's, Penrith.

332	Cross-bow *sable*, pointed upwards, between 4 Moor-cocks *sable*, membered and beaked *gules*	HIGHMORE [1]
333	3 Eagles displayed *gules*	EAGLESFIELD
334	3 Escutcheons *gules*	HAY [2]
335	3 Greyhounds courant in pale *gules*, collared *or*	WHELPDALE [3]
336	3 Greyhounds courant in pale *sable* ...	BRISCO [4]
337	6 Horse Shoes *sable*	FERRIS [5]
338	Lion rampant *azure*, armed and langued *gules*	FAUCONBERGE [6]
339	Lion rampant *sable*, armed and langued *gules*	STAPLETON [7]
340	Lion rampant *sable*, within a Border *gules* bezantée	PICKERING [8]
341	Lion rampant *vert*, within a Border *azure*	STOREY [9]
342	3 Lions *or*	PLANTAGENET
343	Maunche *gules*	THRELKELD [10]
344	6 Martlets, 3, 2 and 1 *sable*	DELAMORE
345	3 Mullets *sable*	WOLLASTON [11]
346	3 Stag's heads cabossed *gules*, with 3 Cross-crosslets fitchée *gules*	HARTSOP [12]
347	3 Swords *gules*, with pommels joined in the nombril point	STAPLETON [13]
348	3 Wolves heads *sable*, couped sanglante ...	WILSON [14]

VARIED SHIELDS.

349	Barry of 6, *argent* and *azure* 3 Annulets *azure* in chief	LAWSON [15]
350	Barry of 6, *argent* and *azure* 3 Chaplets *or*	BARON GREYSTOKE
351	Parted per Bend indented 3 Cinquefoils 2 and 1 counterchanged ...	CHAYTOR [16]
352	Parted per Chevron engrailed *or* and *azure* 3 Martlets counterchanged	HODGSON [17]
353	Parted per Chevron *sable* and *ermine* 2 Boar's heads couped *or* in chief ...	SANDFORD [18]

1, Harby-brow; 2, Earl of Carlisle; 3, of Penrith; 4, of Crofton; 5, on Vipont coat; 6, on Fleming coat; 7, of Kentmere; 8, younger branch (see No. 293); 9, of Penrith; 10, of Yanwath; 11, on Musgrave coat; 12, of Patterdale; 13, of Edenhall; 14, of Dallam Tower; 15, on Braithwaite coat; 16, of Yorks on Richmond coat; 17, of Bascodyke; 18, of Askham.

354 Parted per Chevron *sable* and *ermine*, on a Chief *argent*, 2 Boar's heads couped *sable* SANDFORD [1]

355 Parted per fess *or* and *gules* 4 Fleur-de-lis counterchanged... ... HINTON

356 Parted per fess indented *argent* and *sable* 6 Fleur-de-lis counterchanged... ... HINTON [2]

357 Parted per fess *gules* and *argent* 6 Martlets counterchanged ... ... FENWICK

358 Parted per fess *gules* and *azure*, a Castle counterchanged ... ... RAWSON

359 Parted per pale *argent* and *gules*, a Parrot proper on the first ... ... SENHOUSE [3]

360 Parted per pale *azure* and *gules*, a Lion rampant *or* ... ... HALTON

361 Parted per pale *or* and *vert*, a Lion rampant *gules* ... ... MARESCHALL [4]

362 Parted quarterly *gules* and *or*, a Mullet *argent* in first quarter ... ... VERE [5]

1, of Howgill, at Newbiggin Hall; 2, younger branch; 3, of Gosforth; 4, Earl of Pembroke, also of Cartmel Priory; 5, on Percy coat.

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ART. XV.—*Swarthmoor Meeting-house, Ulverston: A Quaker Stronghold.* By HARPER GAYTHORPE, F.S.A., Scot.

Read at Swarthmoor, June 29th, 1905 (with additions).

ALTHOUGH the Friends' (or Quakers') Meeting-house at Swarthmoor, near Ulverston, was founded by George Fox more than two hundred years ago, its historical associations have, so far, never been adequately dealt with. The difficulty of obtaining records has apparently been a bar in the way, but it is hoped that the present attempt may stimulate others to further research.

On the 6th July, 1538, some two years after the dissolution of Conishead Priory, a claim to possession of a parcel of land called Swarthmore, lying within the parish of Ulverston, was made by Robert Nevill and John Nevill, knights, in the Duchy Court of Lancashire, against Thomas Stanley, Lord Monteagle, farmer of the monastery of Conishead, who "kept the possession of the parcel of land contrary to law and will not suffer plaintiffs to occupy the same."

The land called Swarthmore or Swartmore (*i.e.* the Black Moor) then contained 30 acres of pasture, near adjoining the demesnes of the said late monastery, but neither in the pleadings or in the decree or order is there any mention of Swarthmoor Hall.

In the depositions which were taken on behalf of Sir Robert Nevill, the land referred to was described by John Greves of Pennington, as "beginning at a stone next Conyshed ground called Swartmore on the east, and so goes westward to the highway leading from Ursewyke (Urswick) to Ulverston Mosse, otherwise called Plompton

Mosse, and so following the said highway northward to the house of Edward Petye of the said ground." The Ulverston register records the burial of Edward Pettie on October 1st, 1551, and another of the same name on April 16th, 1554.

A decree was given and an order made in favour of Sir Robert Nevill at Easter, 1540. (*Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. xxxv., pp. 100-104).

In 1574 another attempt was made by William Pele, the Queen's farmer, to dispossess Richard Pytye, lessee of Sir Robert Nevill, knight, of lands in Swarthmore, but I have traced no record of the result.

In 1595 the name of John Pettie of Swarthmore, parish of Ulverston, is found in the Lancashire wills in the Archdeaconry of Richmond, and in the same list of wills appears the name of Alice Pettie of Swarthmore in 1640, and John Petty of Swarthmore in 1676. It is thus clear that Edward Petye or his family gave the name Pettys or Pettis to the close of land adjoining that on which Swarthmoor Meeting-house is built, and now known as Petty Croft.

Between the years 1674 and 1687, and most probably in 1676 or 1679, the estate called "Pettys" was purchased by George Fox for seventy two pounds from Susanna and Rachel Fell, the youngest daughters of Judge Fell of Swarthmoor Hall. In 1674 Rachel Fell came of age, and from letters written by George Fox on the 15th February and the 22nd March, 1686-7, from Kingston-on-Thames to his son-in-law Thomas Lower of Marsh Grange, Kirkby Ireleth, he declared his "intention of giving up Petty's house and land for ever for the service of the Lord and the people called Quakers," as follows:—

I do offer and give up freely to the Lord for ever, and for the service of His sons and daughters, and servants, called Quakers, the house and houses, barn, kiln, stable, and all the land, with the garden and orchard, being about three acres of land, more or less;

with the commonings, peats, turfings, moss, and whatsoever other privileges that belong to it called Pettis at Swarthmore in the parish of Ulverstone.

And also my ebony bedstead, with the painted curtains, and the great elbow chair that Robert Widders sent me; and my great sea-

case or cellaridge, with the bottles in it. These I do give to stand in the house as heir-looms when the house is made use of for a meeting place; so that Friends [who go to lodge there] may have a bed to lie on, and a chair to sit in, and a bottle to hold a little water to drink.

The land is free from all tithes, and it may keep the meeting-house in order and repair. It is all the land and house I have in England, and it is given up to the Lord, for God's people to meet in when they do not meet at Swarthmore Hall. Let the rent of the ground and malt-house maintain the meeting-house, which may be made fit, either the barn or the house, as the Lord shall let Friends see which is best. Slate it, and pave the way to it, and about it, that Friends may go dry to their meeting. You may let any poor honest Friend live in part of the house, and so let it all be for the Lord's service to the end of the world. Let Friends make as safe and firm writings concerning it as they can, and let John Rous, and Thomas Lower, and William Meade, and Daniel Abraham be trustees to settle this, with some [Friends] of the monthly meeting of Swarthmore, and some of the quarterly meeting of Lancaster, that so Friends may be sure of a meeting-house for ever that is free, and will maintain itself, and which is the Lord's.

Further extracts from these two letters refer to the suggested alterations to the barn, malt-house, and house, from which the meeting-house was to be made.

But if the barn will do better; if you could make it wider, may be it may be better, because there will be the house to go into.

The ground and the yards are low and may be so raised that you may go up a step or two into the meeting-house; and you have stones enough and poor men to get them.

I would have a porch made to the meeting-place, on the common side, from the yard; and I would have the meeting-place large, for truth may increase.

The extracts quoted by Mrs. Maria Webb in the *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, pp. 341-2, and those quoted by Dr. Barber in *Swarthmoor Hall and its Associations*, pp. 51-2, and in *Furness and Cartmel Notes*, pp. 253-4, vary somewhat. In the latter the references are more extended.

At this time the houses and farm buildings were thatched, and he directs that they should "be slated and the barn made as wide again, which you may do with pillars or otherwise." From this it would appear that the barn, when enlarged, was considered most suitable for the meeting-house.

In a letter from William Meade to Margaret Fox from Gooseyes in Essex, dated 10th April, 1687, there is a reference to the slates, which not unlikely came from the quarries at Kirkby Ireleth :—

> My father would have my brother Lower, now he is providing stone and slate, to provide the quantity that is fitting for repair of Pettis.—*The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 340.

Judging by the size of the meeting-house, it would appear to have been more convenient to pull down and rebuild the premises, as the old walls could not have stood the strain of a slated roof about twice the width of the old barn.

After giving directions about the planting of trees about the close, he concludes by "desiring that the work be done as soon as may be, and let it be done substantially."

This gift of "Pettis" by George Fox was confirmed by him by two deeds of lease and release dated respectively the 15th and 16th September, 1687. And, by lease and release in fee, dated respectively the 23rd and 24th March, 1724, the grantor, Daniel Abraham, conveyed to Thomas Goad and seven other Friends, the "messuage, barn, kiln, garth, onset, croft, close on the east and meadow on the north-west;" and by an indenture "neither inrolled nor with livery of seizin in fee," dated the 5th April, 1726, the grantors being John Abraham, Thomas Goad and six other Friends, the same property was conveyed to Daniel Abraham and seven other Friends, "For the service of the Lord and his people, as a meeting place for Quakers; the land to keep the meeting-house in repair pursuant to George Fox's lease and release of 15th and 16th September, 1687, and deed * of 15th February, 1687."

* Letter, not deed, of 15th February, 1686-7.

Not until the 26th of February, 1757, is there any mention in a deed of a burial ground adjoining the meeting-house at Swarthmore, but by an indenture of feoffment in fee of that date James Barrow and John Barrow granted to Joseph Goad, John Fell and five other Friends, the same property referred to above and

The Burial Ground, the right of appointing Trustees being left with the monthly meeting at Swarthmore at their discretion.

In another indenture of feoffment in fee dated 7th September, 1803, David Fell granted to Joseph Goad and five other Friends, "the Meeting-house, Burial Ground, and Land called Petty Croft.*" And by lease and release in fee dated 19th and 20th August, 1839, the same property was granted by William Woodville and Joseph Goad to Joseph Goad, Isaac Goad and eight other Friends, and by a further deed of trust dated 25th January, 1890, the same property along with an estate called Toppin Acre, Ulverston, the meeting-house at Colthouse, and other property was conveyed to William Satterthwaite, James H. Midgley, William R. Nash, Robert William Hayes, and eleven other Friends.

Early in 1688 the work of building the meeting-house commenced, and it "was opened for worship in 1690."—*Close's West*, 1805, p. 404. "The Friends around aided with horses, labourers, and such material as their land furnished; with the exception of those contributions from willing hearts and hands, the expenses were all borne by George Fox himself" (*The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 359), but it does not seem that he was ever at Swarthmoor Hall after the building of the meeting-house commenced.

From a letter dated from Kingston-on-Thames, 25th May, 1690, to her son and daughter Daniel and Rachel

* From an Analytical Index to the Trusts of Swarthmore Monthly Meeting, 1812, now at Kendal.

Abraham, it is evident that Margaret Fox was then taking an interest in the new meeting-house. She writes :—

> You should get John Bell to make us a place in the meeting-house: the length of it should be the halfbreadth of it, and so broad that it will hold a seat round about, that one may sit of both sides: plank it, and board it underfoot; and also put a seat at the outside of it" (*Ibid*, p. 361).

An investigation of the buildings shows that the old house with stone mullioned windows was left standing. It was used as a dwelling-house "having been occupied of late [c. 1698] by Leonard Fell and his wife Mary," before his death in 1699.

The meeting-house at Swarthmoor is a plain substantial building of stone, roofed with slate, and having walls 2 feet thick. Inside it is 35 feet 10 inches long, 24 feet wide and 15 feet 10½ inches high from floor to ceiling. It is lighted on the south side only, by three sash windows, 7 feet 4 inches by 4 feet 3 inches, and is surrounded by a stone wall nearly 10 feet high, which gives to the meeting-house a protected, but very secluded appearance. In the court-yard at the front of the meeting-house are several large fir trees, and variegated hollies, a cherry, a bay, and a lilac tree, which guard and adorn, but somewhat overshadow the building.

In 1689 the meeting-places for Friends in Furness and Cartmel were as follows :—

> Swarthmoore Hall; A new building upon Swarthmoore; Colt House in Hawkeshead parish; George Benson's house at Stangend, in Hawkeshead parish; The Height, in Newton, in Cartmell parish; John Gurnell's house att Spooner Close, in Hawkeshead parish; and James Harrison's house att Collingfield, in Cartmell parish. Certified by Leonard Fell.

The porch to the meeting-house is 8 feet by 6 feet 6 inches, and has the following inscription carved on the lintel over the doorway :—

EXDONO : G : F.
1688.

The doorway is of grey sandstone with ogee mouldings, and it partly covers one of the ogee mullioned windows of the old dwelling-house, these latter mouldings are of an older form (probably Henry VIII.) than those in the doorway, while those in the upper windows of the old house are bevelled, similar to those at Swarthmoor Hall, and at Ormsgill Farm, Barrow, the latter being built in 1605.

The north wall of the meeting-house is rough-cast, as is the south wall except at the south-west corner, which is slated. The west gable is lead flashed at the rag-end, and slated to within six feet off the ground, where it is rough-cast like the south wall and porch.

1843		£	s.	d.
10 mo. 23.	By Thos Borwick for Slating the end of Meets house at Swarthmore and other repairs as p Bill	6	18	6

An old ivy tree covers the porch and most of the south side of the old dwelling-house, the east gable, and chimney stack. Adjoining the cottage is the coach-house and stable, and in the outer courtyard are the horsing stones.

Since 1688 many changes and alterations have been made to the meeting-house both externally and internally. I have through the kindness of Friends investigated the accounts of the particular and preparative meetings of Swarthmore from the year 1744, and of Petty Croft from 1789. The Treasurers are as follow :—William Salthouse, 17..-1744; William Salthouse, 1745-1781; Elijah Salthouse, 1781-1789; William Benson, 1789-1835; Isaac Goad, 1835-1851; and Hannah Goad, 1852 to the early eighties. These accounts afford useful assistance in researches into the history of Swarthmore Monthly Meeting, and are of much local interest. Even the most trivial items of receipts and payments give us an insight into the social atmosphere of the period. The payments to Friends' schoolmasters and schools will be referred to

later, but the references to "pentions" to poor and aged Friends, to the alterations, improvements, and upkeep of the meeting-house at Petty Croft, and burial ground, and the Toppin Acre estate, as well as to the payments for the cost of quarterly meetings (first referred to in 1792), for public meetings at various places in the district—Assembly Room (Ulverston) and Kendal (1798), Hawkshead, Newby Bridge, Colthouse, Sunbrick, Baycliff, Sparkbridge, Swarthmore, Cartmel, Flookburgh, Dalton, Kirkby, Walney and Broughton, up to the year 1846, are prominent items. The following are extracts :—

12 mo. 17 day	£	s.	d.
1744 Rec^{d} Cash from the meeting being the Ballance of my father Wm Salthouse, he being the former Cashear for the meeting & as it is satled in the meeting Booke the Sum of	3	4	4
3 : 24			
1745 paid for this Booke to keep acct^{s} in	0	4	0

This book is bound in vellum, and is in size 12½ inches by 8.

Do. 26. to Cash p^{d} for a Coppy of Wm Corrwens Will ..	0	5	6
7mo 1 p^{d} to Daniel Tyson Intrest of John Taylor Legacie for the use of friends of Berkrey meeting the sum of ... ... Due 2 of 12mo Last.	0	5	0

Then follow payments of various sums amounting to £3 4s. 0d. to six poor Friends.

6 . 16	s.	d.
1746 To Nathaniel Miller when his wife was out of health	2	0
12 . 23		
1745 Rec^{d} Cash from John Abraham the Intrest of 74^{l} . 0 . 0 Due the 2 Day of 12mo 1743 the sum of	3	4	0
11mo 25			
1746 p^{d} by order of the meeting To Lanclet Person an Ierish Friend	10	0	

1 mo 22
1746/7 To Daniel Ryer a Distresed friend from Pensilveniea by order of the preparative meeting 2 . 0 . 0

Other payments follow: various sums amounting to £6 . 14 . 0 to ten poor Friends.

9-22
1747 Rec[d] of Tho[s] Fell, Ulverstone being the first half year Rent for Toping acker Due the 11th of this month the sum of ... ... 3 . 16 . 6

11-24
1747 Rec[d] of John Dodgson Intrest of 10[l] Robert Salthouse Legacie Due 4[mo] 1740 ... ... 8 . 4

8-6
1748 paid Cash to Margret Nealson towards fitting her son out as an aprentice to the Trade of a Mariner by order of meeting ... ... 1 . 10 . 0

4-25
1749 Rec[d] our meeting preportion of the Revarshon of Height Rent being the sum of ... ... 11 . 7

7-14
1749 p[d] to Sam[l] Scalls wife for 5 Carts of Turfe for Ann Woodburne at 15[d] p Cart ... ... 6 . 3
p[d] for a Stamp on acc[t] of Abraham's Bond ... 1 . 8

9-16
1749 p[d] for ½ Quarter Beefe 5 . 6
& 6 Salt 6 pott 7 ... 1 . 1
30[l] oat meal ... 2 . 4
8 . 11
all for Ann Woodburne 8 . 11

There are many references to beef which was evidently salted or "pickled" for winter use.

10 . 6
1749 paid for a pair new shoes for Hannah Brown ... 3 . 6

11 . 16
1749 To Tho[s] Fell Tarnclose for 2 hoops of pottatos for Ann Woodburne ... ... 1 . 0

In 1749 house rent was low, and 10s. were "paid to Margret Ashburner for the rent of Ann Woodburne house for the year 1749."

When funds were not needed for other purposes, small sums were lent to Friends at $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. In one case the interest was allowed to run on for ten, and in another case for 17 years.

12 . 18		£	s.	d.
1749	Lent Robert Goad of Beiklife the sum of Ten pounds agreeable to order of preparative meeting for said sum he is to pay 9^{d} p^{l} Intrest	10	00	0
Do. 22	paid for 2 Bushells of oats for Ann Woodburne Bought by Thos Fell Tarnclose the sum of ...		7	8
	paid for Drying the above Corne			2

The celebrated Dr. Fell, an apothecary in King Street, Ulverston, who died in 1773 and is buried at Swarthmoor, is referred to when Ann Woodburne was "out of health."

1 mo. 20.				
1750/1	P^{d} to Dr. Fell on her account		5	6
4 . 14				
1751	To Thos Fisher Cloth &c for James Nealson Coat		12	0
	To $\frac{1}{8}$ yard more cloth for D^{o}		1	8
10 mo. 19				
1751	Rec^{d} of Thos Abraham Intrest of 77^{l} for the use of Poore friends Due the 2 Day of 12 mo Last ...	3	4	0
11 mo. 16th				
1752	Disbursed to Saml Fisher by 1 Quarter Beef ...		11	6
1 mo. 4				
1753	To Ann Singleton by 1 quarter Mutton ...		1	2
12-23				
1753	Rec^{d} of John Woodburne In full for his Sister Ann Woodburne Morgage Deed on a parcell of Decaied Housing at Dalton	3	0	0
1 . 28				
1754	Rec^{d} of Thomas Fell tarn close the Intrest of 17^{l} for 6 years	3	16	6
4 mo. 16				
1754	Sent Cash to Wm Eccleston Whithaven towards the Relieve of Agnes Lindow	1	1	0
12 . 24				
1754	To Ann Singleton by 2 quarters Mutton w^{t} 17$\frac{1}{2}$^{l} at 2^{d} p^{l}		2	11

2 . 13
1755 Pd to Thos Fell for 3 quarters of Beef for the use of ye Poor as by his Rects ... ... 1 . 9 . 0

11 . 20
1755 To my Expenses in proving a Debt Due from John & Thos Abraham which said Debt being 87l & secured by bond & 2 years Intrest after the rate of 4l ps being 6-19 : 2 the same I was obliged to prove the 19th of 1st mo. 1754 before Wm Dickinson a Master Extrornery in Chancery which cost me as below,
To Wm Dickinson for Drowing Afermation & fees 5 . 6
To my expenses for Self and horse ... ... 3 . 6
[Wm Salthouse] 9 . 0

John and Thomas Abraham were the grandson and great-grandson of Judge Fell, and were born at Swarthmoor Hall, which, with the Swarthmoor Estate, was sold in 1759. John Abraham died at Seaton, near Lancaster, in 1771, aged 84; and Thomas Abraham died at Penrith in 1778, aged 55.

1 . 20
1757 To Hannah Brown by 8l mutton ... ... 1 . 4
2 . 17 To Do. 12l Beef @ 2½ pl ... ... 2 . 6
2 . 21 To Do. 2 yds Stufe & thred for a gown Top ... ... 2 . 8
4 . 28 10l of Poark 3d pl ... ... 2 . 6
6 . 9 To Hannah Brown by a Leg of Veal 9l @ ... 1 . 6

The next item is that of a cheap lawyer's bill :—

To George Crossfield for Drowing the Convayance of Swarthmore Meeting house & Petty Croft &c ... 10 . 6

12-11
1758 Recd of John Ianson first ¼ year Rent [Toppin Acre] Due at the time caled Martinmas ... 3 . 16 . 6

6 mo. 21
1759 A bottle Daffey *
[Hannah Brown] ... ... 1 . 3

* This is evidently the well-known nostrum Daffy's "Elixir Salutis," invented c. 1673 by the Rev. Thomas Daffy, late rector of Redmile, Leicestershire.—*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xii.

2 . 13
1762 To John Dixon for a pair of Blankets for Do. [Margaret Ashburner] ... ... 8 . 0

1763
7-1 To 2 Blew brats thred & strings for H. Brown ... 1 . 9
9-1 To John Shaw for a pair of Shoos for Do. 5 . 6

After weekly payments to Susanna Fell and others for board of Hannah Brown, there is an account of her funeral expenses which throws some light on the customs in December, 1764, at Swarthmoor.

12-7
1764 To John Fisher for Coffin ... ... 10 . 0
To Robert Battersby for Bread ... ... 2 . 6
To do for Grave Making ... ... 1 . 6
To Roger Fisher for Shrowd ... ... 3 . 9½
To Thos Borwick for ale & bread ... ... 2 . 6
To Thos Hoult for Cheese ... ... 3 . 4½
To 7 Gall ale from Brewrey ... ... 7 . 7
To Suger & Nut megs 11
To Susanah Fell for striping making Shrowd & washing her close & Mathew Truble ... ... 10 . 0

£2 . 2 . 2

3 mo. 22
1765 Paid to Wm Coats for bringing Hannah Brown goods from Mountbarrow to Ulverstone ... 3

2mo 13
1765 Recd at our Monthly 1l being one third of Intirest of £80 in Wm Rigg hand raised out of Rookhow wood ... ... 1 . 0 . 0

1765
4 mo. 9 To Cash Recd of Agnes Lindow being in part of what she Recd from Friends ... ... 2 . 2 . 0

1767
2 mo. 16. Recd of the Executors of John Dodgson Deceased the value of his noat of hand being Robert Salthouse Legacie Left for the use of Poor friends belonging Swarthmore Meeting for the above sum T. Fell has my noat of hand ... 10 . 0 . 0
& Interest due for 17 years ... ... 7 . 1 . 8

1768
12 . 5. To Cash paid Robert Battersby for opening & cleaning Meeting house [for one year] ... 10 . 6

1769
1-5. To Cash to John Abraham towards his present supoart ... ... 1 . 1 . 0

1771
23-2 To Cash to John Abraham by Sarah Abraham Rec^{d} to Mary Albright ... ... 1 . 1 . 0

1775
2 m. 15 To Cash paid for Nursing Mary Fell ... 2 . 0

Between the 7 mo. 8. 1783 and 10 mo. 9. 1802, a period of 19 years £124 : 3 : 11, "pentions," and Rent, etc., were paid to Alice Abraham a great grand-daughter of Judge Fell, through William Dilworth, William Benson, M. Fell, and J. Albright.

1788. To principle & Interest on Robt Goad note Rec^{d} from Thos Goad ... ... 12 . 17 . 0

In the year 1788 a house was built in Toppin Acre, and in 1802 a barn was added, which in 1826 was converted into cottages.

1791.
9 mo. 21. By Cash p^{d} for making New Road ... 4 . 6 . 0

The only law case appearing in the accounts is in 1792.

1792
9 mo. 4 By Cash advanced Wm Johnson ... ... 2 . 2 . 0
By do. for sundry expenses paid the Attorney's Bill, Coart charges &c. incur'd by a dispute with R^{d} Jackson about the Water course at the North East corner of Topin Acre ... ... £4 . 16 . 4

In the accounts for the same year are the next items:—

1792
3 mo. 22. By Cash p^{d} Jno Chamley for Cropping Trees &c. ... ... 2 . 6
— 28 By do. p^{d} Wm Brocklebank's Bill for Whitewash^{g} &c. ... ... 12 . 9

4 mo. 10	By do. p[d] for Lime Cart[s] &c.		3 .	11
— 24	By do. p[d] J. Dodgson's Bill for work done at M[s] house	9 .	12 .	4½
— 25	By do. for sundry expenses & repairs at the Time of the Quarterly Meeting	1 .	5 .	5

At this time two new gates were supplied and smith's work done; also in

1792				
5 mo. 10.	By Cash p[d] the Painters Bill	3 .	3 .	5

There is no record of what the work was which was done by J. Dodgson, but as he was a joiner and cabinet-maker his bill may have been for seating, or alterations required for a larger meeting of Friends.

At the end of the eighteenth century, there were many more trees growing about the meeting-house and burial ground than at the present time, as the following items show :—

1797				
2 mo. 12.	To a Fir sold for	2 .	0	
1798				
1 mo. 7	By Cartage of a Fir Tree from Swarthmoore			6
1799				
3 mo. —	By Cash p[d] for felling Trees and sale of them at Swarthmore and railing Firrs ...	1 .	18 .	2
8 mo. 10	To the Amount of the Sale of Wood at Swarthmore	13 .	10 .	—
1797				
9 mo. 17.	By p[d] T. Salmon for Cleaning Meeting house in Southergate		3 .	10
1798				
2 m: 24	By p[d] for Constable Tax		1 .	6
3 m: 8	By do. for Several Friends Horses ...	1 .	8 .	6
17	By do. for Chaise to T. Kendal &c. ...		16 .	3
11 mo. 27	By Cash p[d] for S. Rundall John Abbott & Guides Horses		9 .	—
12 mo. 5	By do. on acc[t] of the above Friends ...		11 .	6
	By do. paid for fitting up Assembly Room...		19 .	6
1799				
10 mo.	By p[d] for Chaise and expenses to Kendal with Tho[s] Scattergood & Rob[t] Benson ...	1 .	8 .	—

In 1800 a fence was removed, land bought and levelled, and a new wall erected. This is the wall extending from the corner of the highway to the meeting-house, and now bounding Petty Croft on the south.

1800					
2 m:	13	By p^{d} Mashiter for 40 Carts Stones ...	1	10	—
	14	By p^{d} J. Lord for leading 24 Carts Stones...		12	—
	15	By p^{d} T. Fell for Do. 9 Do. Do. ...		4	10½
1 m:	18	By p^{d} Jas. Woodend 5 days labour at Swarthmore at 2/3		11	3
2 m:	15	By Do. Do. 21¾ days at 2/- for removing fence	2	3	6
		By Do. for 23 Carts Stones at 2½ ...		6	10½
		By Do. for land Bought to petty's ...	1	06	—
3 m:	26	By Do. to J. Alexander & Son for Walling	5	7	3
		By Do. to W. Holme for lime & Sand ...	2	1	0
	28	J. Lord for Carting Sand &c.		16	6
9 Mo.	9	By Cash p^{d} E. Salthouse for work in liveling &c. as p bill	3	10	—

Before the Commons Inclosure Award was made on 13th July, 1827, Petty Croft and Toppin Acre Estates were enlarged by the addition of one of the "Lotts," and the cost charged half to the Poor account and half to the School account. The "4 new Oak Stools" are still in use.

1801					
5 Mo.	18	By Cash p^{d} for a Lott of Ground... ...	6	0	0
1802					
2 mo.	12	By Poor Tax for [Petty] Croft		11	0
1803					
2 mo.	5	By Value of good[s] taken in distress for Church taxes &c. for 6 years		5	2
1805					
2 mo.	13	By Cash paid J. Dodgson for 4 new Oak Stools	2	11	2
1810					
2 mo.	17	By Cash p^{d} for Wood for School	10	16	9

In the year 1813, and for some years afterwards, there do not appear to be any payments to poor Friends except the following :—

1813
7 mo. 27 By Cash pd J. Bragg Balce of E. Johnson's A/ct ... ... 10 . 10

1819
12 mo. 16. By Cash for an allowance to W. Hodge for one unproductive year ... ... £5 . — . —

But payments on account of Friends' Children at Ackworth School, near Leeds, frequently occur from 31st October, 1814.

In 1813 and 1814 considerable repairs were done to the meeting-house, and a sum of £175 was spent. After 1792, when the first Quarterly Meeting was held at Swarthmoor, there is a constant reference in the accounts to payments for meetings held at various places and to ministering Friends. Other public meetings were held periodically up to 1846, and there was much activity shown by Friends during that period. These circumstances, prior to 1814, necessitated the alterations inside the meeting-house, and to that date (1813-4) we must assign the additions of the panelled partitions, with wooden flaps and sliding doors, and other internal and external work, including the removal of the old-fashioned family pew, with a seat outside (probably for the servants at Swarthmoor Hall), which Margaret Fox ordered John Bell to make in 1690.

An item in the Petty Croft account on 11th February, 1814, is as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
By Cash pd T. Dodgson by Order of Mees	33	12	—

I extract from the accounts the following details :—

			£ s. d.
1814			
2 mo. 14	To Balc^{e} borrowed from School A/c^{t}	70 . 6 . 3	
1816			
5 mo. 22	To Balc^{e} borrowed from School A/c^{t}	39 . 2 . 8	
			109 . 8 . 11
1814			
2 mo. 14	To Do. Do. Poor A/c^{t}	19 . 10 . 6	
1816			
5 mo. 22	To Do. Do. Poor Do.	1 . 6 . 9	
„ „	To Do. Do. Do. Do.	4 . 9 . 2½	
			25 . 6 . 5½
1825			
8 mo. 15	To ballance of subscription for repairs of Meeting House after paying money borrowed from School & Poor Accounts ...		40 . 4 . 7½
			£175 . 0 . 0

A memorandum written in the account book for Petty Croft shows the care with which the finances were managed. It reads thus:—

1816

5 mo. 22 The Acc^{t} of Petty Croft as p^{r} the other side has been this Day settled by us at the request of the Preparitive Meeting, & as a memorandum we think it right to remark that there has been borrowed from the School A/c^{t} £109 . 8 . 11 and from the Poor A/c^{t} £25 . 6 . 5½, which sums have been applied for Repairing the Meeting House &c. at Swarthmore; and we recommend that this Mees apply to the M^{o} Mees for the Amt. of these Sums, out of the Money arrising from the next Fall of Rook How Wood

Thomas Brockbank,
Elijah Salthouse,
Thos Dodgson,
Wm Benson.

The coppice wood on Rook How Estate, about 12½ acres, is only cut down about every sixteen or seventeen years, and the delay in completing the accounts for the

repairs to the meeting-house, etc., in 1813-14 is thus explained. The money arising from the sale of coppice wood was not available until 1821, when £173 11s. 0d. was realised as follows :—

1821		£	s.	d.
2 mo. Rec^{d} of James Lomas for Bark ...	...	91	0	0
Do. for Charcoal ...	...	55	13	6
Do. for Spilewood ...	...	26	17	6
		£173	11	0

Out of the net money received for wood certain repairs were paid for, and the "sum of £163 . 0 . 3 was carried to the credit of the M^{o} Meetg^{s} a/c^{t} with Elijah Salthouse."

1823		£	s.	d.
12 mo. 12.	P^{d} Expenses of 2 Public Meetings in Assembly room [Ulverston] ...	2	14	8
	P^{d} for printing 1000 Notices		12	6
	P^{d} for first Public Meeting Cartmel ...	1	2	0
	P^{d} for Public Meeting Flookburgh ...	1	10	10
	P^{d} Do. Dalton ...	1	3	8
	P^{d} Do. Kirkby ...		10	0
	P^{d} Washer Woman		1	4
	P^{d} J. Goad & Jno. Satterthw^{t} for wafers			3
	P^{d} Expenses for 3 Public Meet^{gs} Walney		16	7½
	P^{d} for second Do. at Cartmel	1	1	8
	P^{d} for Do. at Broughton	1	6	11
		£13	1	11½

According to the minutes of Swarthmore Preparative Meeting, held 25th of March, 1821, Thomas Brockbank and Elijah Salthouse were appointed to order the necessary repairs to the meeting-house, and provide a case for the books belonging to that meeting. Five months afterwards E. Salthouse reported that these repairs were completed, and also the bookcase. In the accounts of Swarthmore Monthly Meeting is the following item :—

1822			s.	d.
6 mo. 16	Pd Wm Geldart for mending windows ...		3 .	0
7 mo. 17	„ „ repairing Meeting house ...	1 .	6 .	9½

On the 19th of September, 1824, Joseph Goad and William Benson were appointed to call on Friends for a subscription for the repairs of the meeting-house and burial ground. During the next five months they collected from Friends the sum of £40 4s. 7½d. (the balance of £175), and on the 20th of February, 1825, is the following minute:—

> The amount of the Subscription for the repairs of this Meeting house is £175. The treasurer is directed to discharge the amount of the money borrowed from the other two a/cs some time since.

The reference to burial ground suggests that the cost of erecting part of the fence wall round it was done at the same time as the repairs to the meeting-house in 1813-14.

The fence and boundary walls begun in 1800 were completed as to the burial ground in 1824, and as to Petty Croft in 1834-5.

The next account is an interesting record of prices eighty years ago:—

SWARTHMORE MEETING.

To E. & T. Salthouse, Dr.

1824		£	s.	d.
4 mo. 3	Pd Thos Holme for 1 day cleaning Brambles & Brush Wood in Burial Ground ...		2 .	6
10	Pd Wm Dixon for 21 Carts Through Stones	1 .	18 .	0
	Pd Jane Lord for 8 Carts Do.		17 .	4
	Pd Wm Postlethwaite for 35 Carts Stones...		11 .	8
	Pd John Postlethwaite for Carting Do. ...	1 .	3 .	4
	Pd Wm Postlethwaite for 40 Bushls Lime...	2 .	3 .	4
	Pd Do. for 8 carts Top Stones		14 .	0
	Pd John Simpson for 8 Carts Do... ...		5 .	4
	Pd Edwd Harrison for geting Do. ...	1 .	5 .	6
	Pd Danl Wilkinson for Carts Do. & Sand...	2 .	11 .	3

Pd Do for Carting Lime		8 .	o
Pd Mat. Butterfield for Carts Stones & Sand		7 .	6
Pd Joseph Yarker for Sand	2 .	2 .	o
Pd Edwd Harrison for Walling round Burial Ground 238½yds @ 6d	5 .	19 .	3
Pd Do. for seting Top Stones	1 .	19 .	4½
Pd Do for Dashing 527yds @ 1½d	3 .	5 .	10½
Pd Geo. Garth for 2 days clearing rubbish		4 .	o
	£25 .	18 .	3

In the complete account are the following items, the first of which shows that the boundary wall of Petty Croft on the south had been built in 1800 :—

		£	s.	d.
1824				
4 mo. 10.	Pd for Toping Field Wall	2 .	14 .	6
10 mo. 15	Pd for Railing Corner of Burial Ground...		3 .	o
1825				
2 mo. 4	Pd for 1 Hot air stove & 18 feet pipe ...	7 .	19 .	11
1825				
2 mo. 14.	By 2 years Rent Petty Croft	16 .	16 .	o
	E. Salthouse's Subscription for repairs of Meeting House	20 .	o .	o
1825	T. Salthouse's Do.	15 .	o .	o
7 mo. 25	By Cash frm Wm Benson	3 .	8 .	o
		£55 .	4 .	o

Evidently the new road to the meeting-house made in 1800 was only in poor condition. From 1827 up to 1843 there are continual references to carting cinders:—

1829				
11 mo. 14.	Pd Jno Penny for Cinders 6 tubs ...	7 .	o	

On the 23rd of August, 1829, William Benson reported to the Preparative Meeting that he had paid for the repairs to the meeting-house £26 19s. 7d. These repairs included the removal of " the ancient windows " referred to in *The*

Fells of Swarthmoor Hall, p. 342, and of other work as referred to in the following items from the account of Petty Croft:—

1829					
6 mo.	1	Pd Ed. Harrison for work don at Meeting House	3	1	4
„	3	Pd Henry Reay for wood & work done at Meeting House	17	5	0
„	4	Pd Jno Ashburner for Nails		3	8
„	6	Pd Jno Harrison for repairing windows at do		17	4
„	12	Pd Wm Bryers for work at Meeting House	1	1	3
„	26	Pd James Kitchen for Painting at Meeting House (Discount alld)	4	11	0
			£26	19	7

It is possible that the meeting-house was originally lighted with stone mullioned windows like the Sedbergh Meeting-house, and the remains of an ogee moulded lintel built into the fire place in the cloak room lends colour to that opinion.—*Furness Past and Present*, vol. i., p. 190; *Select Miscellanies of the Society of Friends*, 1851, p. 160. But there can be no question that "the ancient windows" referred to were of similar pattern to a window frame of debased Gothic form made of deal or some soft wood, now at Mr. Robert Pearson's of Stewnor Bank, near Ireleth. I am informed by Mrs. Spencer of Ireleth that the late Miss Hannah Goad of Ulverston (who died in 1885, aged 83 years), on her visits to the house at Poaka Beck Waterworks, spoke to her of the removal of the peculiar shaped windows from Swarthmoor Meeting-house to Stewnor Bank, and of her great regret at the same. Miss Goad is referred to in the minutes of the monthly meeting at Swarthmoor in 1823, and no doubt saw these "ancient windows" when they were at Swarthmoor Meeting-house. The window referred to measures 4 feet 7¾ inches by 3 feet 2¼ inches, and is a plain pointed arch with rectangular panes.

A similar window frame made of oak is also in the attic at Stewnor Bank, and has the panes of the upper part arranged to imitate Early English tracery. I am informed by Mr. James Wilson of Marton, now aged 87 years, that as a boy he lived at the farmhouse at Stewnor Bank when it was built in 1830 by Mr. Robert Ashburner of Dragley Beck, Ulverston, who told him that the oaken window frame came from Conishead Priory. This frame is most likely one of those used about the year 1763 (Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 398), when the north front of the priory was made anew in the Gothic style "by the curious Architect Hird" (*Antiquities of Furness* by W. Fell, S.B., 1777, p. 8), during the time when Thomas Braddyll, Esq., lived at Conishead Priory. He died July 25th, 1770 (*Lonsdale Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 201). The window frames referred to, and two others, were subsequently removed, and gave place to the four modern windows of similar form. There is also at Stewnor Bank a quatre-foil or "ox-eye" window, 4 feet 3 inches high, of grey sandstone, which came from Conishead Priory in 1830.

The three windows now in the meeting-house were inserted in the year 1829, and replaced three of those referred to above in order to give more light, as the trees growing up in front and the high boundary wall would tend to darken the meeting-house inside. These windows are square-headed, and have two sashes with twelve panes in each.

The following entries in the accounts after 1830 have an interest, and tell us something of an Ulverston tradesman who built the Lancaster Bank there :—

1832			
1 mo. 28	By p^{d} to Stephen Tyson for printing Notices	4 .	6
6 mo. 25	do. for giving Notice of Publick Meeting	2 .	6
„ 30	do. for J:n^{o} Peas[e] Horse and Guides at Sun Inn	10 .	0
12 mo. 4	for shewing friends Swarthmore Hall	1 .	0

1832				
12 mo. 20	„	latter Poor Tax & for lights ...	10 .	1
1833				
2 mo. 1	Ed. Harrison for repairs of Barn Swarthm[r]		12 .	9
1834				
3 mo. 29.	By Cash to W[m] Bryers for a Band ...		2 .	6
10 mo. 8.	„ „ H. Braithwaite, Braddyll's Arms, for chaise for Elisha Bates & Anna Braithwaite to Newby Bridge & Swarthmore ...	1 .	7 .	—
11 mo. 26.	„ „ Anthony Banks & G. Spencer second poor tax for [Petty] Croft ...		9 .	6
	Do. for Lighting		—	7

In 1834 and 1835 the boundary wall abutting on the high road to Birkrigg was built. On Christmas Day this item is recorded :—

1834				
12 mo. 25.	By Cash to Moses Tyson on A/c of wall at Petty Croft	10 .	0 .	0

Early in 1835 further work was done, as below :—

1835				
1 mo. 5.	By Cash Isaac Grisdale, for gate post for Do.		12 .	0
2 mo. 18.	„ „ H. Woodburn for Paint ...		1 .	10
„ 25	„ „ John Hodgson for carting two gate posts to Petty Croft		3 .	0
4 mo. 25	By Moses Tyson for balance due him on acc[t] of the new wall at Petty Croft ...	20 .	8 .	0
5 mo. 21	By W[m] Bryers for Gate hangings ...		15 .	0
1837				
8 mo. 31	By E. Salthouse for 1 copy of G. Fox Journal		5 .	2
10 mo. 18	By Gas Co. for 6 cwt. Sinders for Swarthmore		7 .	0
1841				
7 mo. 22.	By Antislavery Society	5 .	0 .	0

From the porch a flagged passage 5 feet 3 inches wide leads to the interior of the meeting-house. Towards the end of this passage, one on either side, are the two ebony

OAK BEDSTEAD FROM SWARTHMOOR.
in the possession of Mr. W. L. Fletcher, Stoneleigh, Workington.
Photo. by W. L. Fletcher. TO FACE P. 261.

bedposts which formed part of the bedstead with painted curtains, before referred to. This passage leads on the right to the cloak room, formerly the kitchen or living room of the old dwelling-house. At the end of the passage is the staircase leading to the gallery.

The accompanying engraving is of another bedstead which also belonged to George Fox. The photograph was kindly contributed by Mr. W. L. Fletcher, of Stoneleigh, Workington, the owner of Swarthmoor Hall.

The cloak room is 17 feet long and 12 feet wide, with ceiling 7 feet 6 inches high, but sloping at the east end, where it is 9 feet high, to form the gallery floor above. In former days, when the cloak room was a kitchen, it had an open fire hearth 6 feet 6 inches wide. This is partly built up at the sides with the ogee lintels of mullioned windows similar to those in the windows which give light to the cloak room.

The mullioned windows in the cloak room are 4 feet high and 4 feet 2 inches wide. There are leaded lights in each, 2 feet 1½ inches by 1 foot 3 inches, glazed with modern glass, except ten oblong panes of old green-tinted glass, eight perfect and two repaired. The two bevelled mullioned windows on the first floor which light the gallery are similar in size to those on the ground floor. All the mullioned windows are protected inside by strong vertical iron bars, one to each light, except that on the east. The lights in the upper windows contain fourteen oblong panes of old green-tinted glass. The gallery is 24 feet wide, 18 feet from partition to the east wall, and 7 feet 6 inches from floor to ceiling. It is furnished with nine wooden forms and a desk.

The eastern end of the meeting-house is divided from the passage by a panelled wooden partition, which extends from floor to ceiling. In the upper half of this partition are doors which slide vertically, and covering these are wooden flaps 3 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 10 inches, which can be raised and hooked to the ceiling. Similar

wooden flaps are also in the lower part of the partition on each side of the passage. When these flaps are lifted up and the sliding doors released, the cloak room and gallery are, as it were, thrown into the meeting-house, and the accommodation increased about one third.

The walls and ceilings of the meeting-house are white-washed. On the south side the walls have panelled wainscotting 4 feet 10 inches high, and about 15 feet of the wall on the north side has similar wainscotting near the platform, but the rest has been removed and not replaced. The platform is about 3 feet 6 inches wide, and is raised three steps from the floor. It contains one long wooden seat and a table. A similar seat is in front.

The meeting-house is plainly but substantially furnished with seating accommodation for 160 to 200 persons. Of the sixteen wooden forms with backs, seven on the south side are for women and nine on the north side for men. Four of each towards the front are cushioned with faded green repp—the only sign of bodily comfort visible, except the stove, which is placed near the centre of the meeting-house.

Not far from the stove is the old folio black-letter Bible, with lock and chain, by which it was formerly attached to the preacher's gallery. This Bible was printed by Richard Grafton in 1541, and is known as the "Treacle" Bible, from the rendering of the last verse of Jeremiah, viii. :—

"is not there not tryacle at Gylyad?"

On front of the wooden brass-bound cover is the inscription "The Gift of George Fox to this Meeting."

In an old housekeeper's book from Swarthmoor Hall, dated 1673, is the following :—

	£	s.	d.
By Money p[d] Ric[d] Fell for binding and lettering the Great Bible	0	1	6

This may be the Bible referred to, and removed from Swarthmoor Hall when meetings were held in the meeting-house in 1690.

Near the Bible, and on either side of a book cupboard, are two carved oak chairs with repp cushions. One of

these is "the great elbow chair that Robert Widders sent to George Fox." Both chairs have been illustrated as this particular chair, but a careful inspection shows that they are entirely different, especially in the construction of the backs and the carving. The one figured is panelled both at back and front, while the other has the moulds nailed on in front, and is not panelled and has had its brackets removed. There are also other indications that the former is the better chair of the two. In *Furness Past and Present*, vol. i., p. 190, and in the *Chronicles of Ulverston*, p. 71, the chair now illustrated is shown as the one sent by Robert Widders to George Fox, and it is most probably the correct one. In the *North Lonsdale Magazine*, 1895, vol. i., pp. 167-8, both chairs are shown. One of these has three lozenges carved in the centre of the ornament on the back, which seems to afford a clue to this being the chair, which formerly belonged to Margaret Fox, the widow of Judge Fell, and which was removed from Swarthmoor Hall. At Swarthmoor Hall, above the doorway on the first floor, from which George Fox is said to have preached, there are also three lozenges carved in stone below the hood moulding.

It would be of interest to trace the date when Swarthmoor Hall was built, and the three lozenges referred to may afford some clue. In 1553, Nicholas Mylnor and George Fell were plaintiffs, and John Assheborner and William Nycolson defendants, in a disputed title to chantry lands at Ulverston. This George Fell was most probably the grandfather of Judge Fell, whose signature and seal are here shown.

The arms, *Argent three lozenges conjoined in fess vert, between as many roses gules, barbed and seeded proper,* granted and exemplified during the time of the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, 1649-1658, to the ancestors of Robert Edward Fell of St. Martin's in the Fields Middlesex, Esquire, were in 1772 declared to be illegal and void by the Garter Principal King of Arms, who, however, then granted the same arms to the above Robert Edward Fell. These three lozenges carved in stone seem to point to Judge Fell as the builder of Swarthmoor Hall,* probably on the site of an older house, built by his father or grandfather. All the mullioned windows and doorways at Swarthmoor Hall have bevelled edges, and similiar mullioned windows are found at Ormsgill farmhouse, Barrow, c. 1605, and in the upper windows of the house adjoining the meeting-house at Swarthmoor.

In 1660 George Fell, son of Judge Fell, petitioned the King for pardon; "his father was a grand malignant, and purchased fee farm lands value £220, but he being only lately of age, has received none of the said rents, nor has acted in any way against His Majesty." In 1664-5 he also petitioned the King "for the estate of his mother, forfeited for life, because she has run herself into a præmunire for embracing the fanatic opinions of the Quakers." In January, (?) 1667, representation of the state and condition of Margaret Fell, now prisoner in Lancaster Castle, was made to the King, "that he may release her, as she has been more than three years in a cold, windy, smoky prison, because she refused the Oath of Allegiance, her conscience not permitting her to swear."

The sea-case or cellaridge in which it is said George Fox kept his stock of books is now in the cloak room. It is 4 feet 8 inches long, 19 inches wide and 17½ inches

* In *Antiquities of Furness*, 1805, p. 403, edited by Wm. Close, he is referred to as "a native of Swarthmoor."

deep, and is made of ¾ inch oaken boards. The front and bottom are perforated with ¼ inch holes, apparently for ventilation. The water bottles which were in it in 1686-7 have long since gone. This will be the "strong oak chest" referred to in the minutes of Swarthmore Monthly Meeting, held at Rook How, December 28th, 1827, when William Benson and Elijah Salthouse reported respecting the Registers of marriages, births and burials, as follows :—

SWARTHMORE MONTHLY MEETING.

REPORT RESPECTING THE REGISTERS OF MARRIAGES, BIRTHS AND BURIALS.

They are all collected & deposited in a strong Oak Chest in the Meeting House at Swarthmore, with the exception of those in use which are with the registering Clerk appointed by this Meeting. The Earliest Registers have been kept by the Particular Meetings. Some of the entries from Langdale & Pool Bank dont appear to be be entered in any other book with us, but by some Minutes and Memorandums we suppose they are entered at Kendal. The rest appear to be pretty regularly transcribed all into one Book from 1646 to 1775 which is in a good state of preservation. From 1775 to 1794 they have been kept by the Monthly Meets & entered in Books at full length, and those books are also in good preservation. Since 1794 they have continued to be entered into the Books now in use. The Preparative & Mo. Meetings Minutes which have been brought up, as also some other Papers have been deposited in the same Chest.

From an entry in the accounts in the year 1848, January 6th, it is evident the records were removed elsewhere.

	s.	d.
By Cash paid Sarah Goad for a box in which the records of the Monthly Meeting came from Swarthmore, and which is required to keep them in	2	0

These records were evidently in the charge of Miss

Hannah Goad, for in July, 1857, she transcribed the names of Friends interred in Sunbrick and Swarthmoor Burial Grounds, the latter being accompanied with a plan which shows the position of modern graves, on the scale of ⅛ of an inch to a foot. The records were subsequently removed to London.

The meeting-house at Swarthmoor was used as a school on week-days by James Goad, who, so far as I can trace, was the first school-master there.

He "was a son of John and Jane Goade" and "was born at his Parents Mansion House scituated at ye Antarctick End of ye Town called Gleaston on the 28th February 1675." This house was a double fronted dwelling of two storeys with mullioned windows, and stood on the site of the present "Rose and Crown" beer-house. The old house with ivy-covered front was used as a farmhouse till well into the last century. Mr. Thomas Mashiter informs me that Mr. John Goad kept the old buildings in repair and used them to feed cattle in in winter, and for his young stock, until about 1850. Some of the old farm buildings remained until about 1860, and the farmyard abutted on the ancient highway to Ulverston. The old house was sold in 1894, and a new house was built on the site. An oaken cupboard which was removed from the old house in 1894 has carved on the front

W G 1625 E G

The cupboard is now in the possession of Mr. Samuel Grundy, of Ulverston.

In the year 1687, James Goad attended the Dendron Free School, being taught by the curate Mr. John Greenupp, on whose decease he went to Urswick Free School for a month, and was taught there by the vicar, Rev. Thomas Innmon. He then returned to Dendron Free School and was taught by "one Stockdale." After some time spent there "his father was mindful to send him to

Arnaby School, in Millom, Cumberland, to one Robert Russell." After a stay of nineteen weeks at Ranelands, near Arnaby, he returned again to Dendron to "Stockdale, who soon after going away to learn ye Practice of an Attorney . . . . . George Barker succeeded him" in 1691, and "proving a meer ORBILIUS, and an indiscreet, passionate, cuffing Churl, ye s^d^ James after some time wth him, went about six weeks to Kirkby Ireleth School . . . . . to one Robinson." Leaving there he went to a school at Dent "taught by one Lancaster," and resided there one year, anno 1692. Returning home he "went about half a yeare to Dalton School (anno 1693), to one Myers," who, "on going to Dublin Colledge in Ireland, ye s^d^ James went to Whicham School adjoining to Millom," being taught by one Yates; but he "being such a very Ordinary Scholar," James returned home again, after a stay of thirteen weeks there. On the 29th day of October, 1694, he went to Sedbergh School to Posthumus Wharton, Literarū Sol. "wth whom he had his principal Learning and growth of Knowledge and Capitall improvem^t^ of Understanding." He resided at Sedbergh two years and returned home to Gleaston on 29th October, 1696, "wth an intent to desist from going to any more Schools." On leaving Sedbergh the school-master called him back twice and "used great Endeav^rs^ to persuade him to go to Ox-ford or Cambridge Colledge; But Friends of Swarthmoor Meeting (unto wch his father's family belonged) . . . . . fully depended upon him to be y^er^ schoolm^r^." As he had not had his education "at ffriends (called Quak^rs^) schools, he went thereupon to inspect ye Method, Government and Ord^r^ of a Friends' School at Penket in Sankey, near Warrington . . . . . taught by Gilbert Tompson," who had also been a scholar at Sedbergh. After a stay of ten weeks at Penketh, he returned to Gleaston in the latter end of 1696, and eventually agreed to accept the position of schoolmaster at Swarthmoor Meeting-house, and com-

menced school there "ye 5th day of ye 2nd Month (called April) . . . . . 1697." At first he boarded with six of his scholars at Edward Braithwaite's "an honnest friend" at Nook, Swarthmoor. He taught this school for three and a half years, and "Educated several Scholars to such Degrees of Learning as to teach School and fit [them] for other Vocations," and then voluntarily resigned his placed at Swarthmoor on October 1st, 1700. The "School orders approved of Parents and Master prescribed as a Rule for the Scholars to observe," show that James Goad had a lively interest in his work and was a good disciplinarian. He afterwards went to Ireland, and during his absence there George Bayliff (a former scholar of James Goad's) was "put into his Place aforesaid by his uncle Jo^n ffell, Merc^r . . . . . and ye Rest of his Relacons without orders from ye meeting for it." In a letter from Daniel Abraham to Margaret Fox written 22nd 11th month (January, 1698), it is stated that "John is pretty diligent at his book, and doth improve in his learning."—(*The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, p. 394). Among James Goad's scholars were two named Satterthwaite, Crosfield, Gawith, Bayliff, Sandys, Dover, Pennington, Abraham, Goads, etc. On his return from Ireland, 10th November, 1700, "he ye s^d James taught Jo^n Abraham (wth his waiting Boy) Son to ye s^d Danl (& Rachel) Abraham all ye s^d winter at his own habitacon in Nevil-Hall," Ulverston. His salary was £14 per annum (with certain additions), and for a short time before his resignation, £12.*

After James Goad resigned the position of schoolmaster in 1700, George Bayliff (before referred to) succeeded him.

In 1737 a legacy of £5 was left by Deborah Marshall

* Thomas Lawson, the "Father of Lakeland Botany," gave Judge Fell's family instruction in the medicinal use of herbs at Swarthmoor Hall, 1673-1678. (*Ibid*, p. 372).

"for ye use of a Schoolmaster" at Swarthmoor. This sum was "secured by Bill in ye hand of Thos Goad of Beacliffe."

Prior to 1740, Mary Fell left a "Legacie of £10 to the scole of Swarthmore," and on the 20th December, 1749, there is a record of ten years interest £4 3s. 4d., "Rec^d^ of Thos Abraham, due for the years 1740-1749, at 8s. 4d. per year." In 1751 there is another payment of 8s. 4d. "the Intrest for Mary Fell Legacie Left for the Use of a Scoolmaster."

On 12th November, 1747, there is a deed poll of declaration of trust relating to Toppin Acre Meadow at Ulverston, the grantors being Thomas Goad, Robert Goad, William Salthouse and John Brockbank. It was held by them for the poor and school of Swarthmoor Meeting of the gift of William Curwen and others, and was subject to a recited feoffment of 4th August, 1747, by the same parties to John Jackson, James Goad and William Simpson (devisees of William Curwen) in fee, on what was called a conditional indemnity. Before the year 1707 this estate was probably owned by "Henery Topping of Ulverston."

Subsequently a Friends' School was kept at Baycliff, for on 21st of 2nd month, 1762, a sum of £4 "Interest of Mary Fell Legacie, was ordered to be paid to Joseph Rigg scolemaster at Baycliffe,"* and on the 7th of 6th month, 1763, £10 were paid to Joseph Rigg "for teaching scoole at Swarthmoore for one year."

On 26th of 5th month, 1765, "the Balance in the hands of William Salthouse for the Use of a Scoole at Swarthmore was £33 1s. 0¾d." There is no record of another schoolmaster at Swarthmoor until 1770, when on the 11th of 12th month is the following item:—

---

* Mr. R. Benson, Aldingham, informs that the second house on the south side of the road from Baycliff to Scales, now occupied by Mrs. J. Bayliff, was the one formerly used as the school.

	£	s.	d.
Paid to Daniel Johnson out of Scoole Monney by agreement as p his Rece[t]	7	10	0

The following records refer to the payments made by Friends for school fees at Swarthmore in 1771 and 1772 :—

1771

7mo. 26. Rece[d] from The below friends for their Childer being taught by Daniel Johnson by agreement

	s.	d.			
W[m] Salthouse Son, 2 months writing & Accts.	2	8			
Elijah Salthouse Son W[m] 1 year writing &c. ...	16	0			
Do. Son Joseph Reading 1 y[r] ...	8	0			
Do. Doughter Sarah 1 q[r] writing	4	0	3	10	8
John Brockbanke Son 1 y[r] writing &c. ...	16	0			
Tho[s] Chamney Son 1 y[r] writing &c.	16	0			
Do. Doughter Mary 2 q[rs] writing ...	8	0			

1772

6 mo. 11. Rece[d] from the below Friends for their Childer being Taught by D: Johnson by agreement

of Jn[o] Brockbanke Son Thomas 1 year ...	16	0			
Elijah Son W[m] 1 year	16	0	2	16	0
Do. Son Joseph 1 year	8	0			
Tho[s] Chamney Son William	16	0			

1774 . . . By Cash for Teaching Fr[ds] Children ...	—	—	—		
1776 By Rec[d] for Teaching Friends Children as p Dan[l] Johnson's Acco[t] 1774 ...	—	—	—		

There are several records of payments of £7 10s. od. half-yearly to Daniel Johnson as schoolmaster, the last being on 1st June, 1776.

It is not clear whether the following payment refers to one of his assistants :—

1776, 12 mo. 10. To p[d] Rob[t] Battersby	10	6	
To p[d] for his Son's Schooling as p T. Chadwicks acco[t]	4	6	

An undated item closes the references to Daniel Johnson as follows :—

To Cash to Dan[l] John[son] as p rec[t] for Samuel Battersby Schooling ... ... 14 . 0

In 1785, and subsequently, up to 1869, there are frequent references in the accounts of Swarthmore Monthly Meeting to payments to various Friends' Schools, and grants made without stating what the grants were for. The first record is as follows:—

1785, 11 mo. 24. By Cash for W[m] Johnson's Enterance at Newton School 10s 6d
Do. his Convayence thither ... ... 5 —
1786, 4 m. 17. By cash paid John Hall ½ Year Schooling for W[m] Johnson ... ... 5 5 —
See Min. of
12 m[o] 1786 By Cash p[d] John Hall for W[m] Johnson [apparently at Ackworth School] 7 8 2

Subsequent records include the following items:—

	£	s.	d.
1802			
1 mo. 1. By Robert Salthouse at Ackworth	14	16	4
1817			
1 mo. 17. By Cash p[d] E. Salthouse for D. Satterthwaites half year at Ackworth	5	7	2
1835			
7 mo. 20. By Cash to E. Salthouse for admittance of two of James Smithson's Sons to Ackworth School	20	2	0

After 1776, and until 1810, there is no record in the accounts of any school-master at Swarthmoor. In the latter year Thomas Slee was appointed and a new arrangement was made which lasted until 1812. For his salary he was paid the rent of Toppin Acre estate and interest on various loans. In 1812 he received £33 18s. 4d.

In the accounts of E. and T. Salthouse for Swarthmoor Monthly Meeting, I find:—

		£	s.	d.
1825 29th 7 mo.	Due to the best Schoolmaster ...	1	15	0
1828	Due to the best Schoolmaster ...	2	2	6
1833	Due to the best Schoolmaster ...	2	15	0

and on the 26th of 9th month, 1826, the balances due from William Benson to the school account were £136 5s. 8d., and arrears of rent due from William Hodge (the tenant of Toppin Acre) for the school £29 13s. 1d.

I have not been able to trace the name of "the best schoolmaster." *

In 1837, 8 mo. 30, appears the following item:—

	£	s.	d.
By A donation to Ackworth School to assist in lighting with Gas	10	0	0

The earliest reference I can trace to the Friends' School in New Church Lane, Ulverston, is in 1839, when an advance of £8 12s. 0d. was made to James Hunter to go to Penketh School for a short time for improvement, previous to his commencing schoolmaster at Ulverston, as recommended by William Foster and others. He began his duties about March, 1839, and continued them up to June, 1846. His average salary per annum was £30. He was a son of James Hunter, senior, of Height, and was disowned on 28th August, 1846, for having been married by a Priest, contrary to the rules of the Society.

After James Hunter left Ulverston and removed within the compass of Hardshaw West Monthly Meeting (which includes Liverpool, Birkenhead and Chester), John Chapman was appointed schoolmaster in June, 1846, and appeared still to perform the duties in March, 1847. He was succeeded by his son James Chapman, who received

* In 1825 there were no less that twelve "academies" in Ulverston, five of which were day schools, one grammar school, and seven boarding schools.

his first salary on 16th August, 1847, but he, dying on 8th September, 1848, John Chapman returned to Ulverston and again taught the Friends' School in New Church Lane. In 1848 the school was altered by Miss Hannah Goad, and the present meeting-house occupies the same site. In November, 1853, the following payment appears in the account of Swarthmoor Monthly Meeting held at Height.

	£	s.	d.
For Money paid to John Chapman being amount of Furniture belonging to him	5	3	0

About 1848 John Chapman opened a school in Sally Whitehead's Yard, Brogden Street, Ulverston, which he continued to 1863, and was succeeded by Thomas Cockerton, a pupil of James Hunter and John Chapman, and assistant to the latter. Thomas Cockerton kept on the school until the passing of the Education Act in 1871, but there has been no schoolmaster in connection with "Friends" at Ulverston since 1861. John Chapman was a good disciplinarian and was well-known in his broad-brimmed beaver hat and brown coat. In 1862, 10 mo. 7, is the first reference to a Friends' Sunday School, £10 being then "P^{d} to Edward Satterthwaite for the 1st day school" in New Church Lane. There are at the present time no less than eleven Friends' Schools in England with accommodation for 1133 boarders, and four in Ireland with accommodation for 248. One of the latter, at Mount Mellick, is that formerly taught by James Goad in 1701.

The earliest Friends' burial place within the compass of Swarthmoor Monthly Meeting is at Sunbrick.* In this elevated and secluded spot, on the edge of Birkrigg Common, about 2½ miles nearly due south by road from

* In the thirteenth century Sunbrick was known as Swinebroc, derived from the old Norse Svinabrekka, Swinebrink. It is spelled Sunbrik in a map of Lancashire, 1577; and Sunbreck by James Goad in 1714.

the meeting-house, surrounded by a high stone wall, lie the remains of the early Friends. In the accounts for Petty Croft are the following items:—

1797
11 mo. 15. By p^d for walling Sepulchre at Sunbrick ... £6 . 6 . —
1836
6 mo. 14 By Jo^s Goad for new door for Sepulchar at Sunbreak... ... ... 8 . 6

On the face of a limestone rock is engraved the inscription:—

SUNBRICK FRIENDS BURIAL PLACE.

Between the years 1648 and 1767, the Remains of 223 Friends were interred here, among whom was Margaret Fox, widow of George Fox, who died at Swarthmore Hall, the 27th of 2nd Month, 1702, aged 89 years. The Registers are in the Register Office of the Society of Friends, Houndsditch,
London.

The earliest name recorded is that of William Hathornthwaite on 30th October, 1648. This date is most likely an error of transcription for 1668. It is difficult to understand how Friends could be buried at Sunbrick in 1648, for George Fox did not come into Furness until 1652, and the same remarks equally apply to the still earlier date 1646, referred to previously on page 266.

NAMES OF 224 FRIENDS INTERRED IN SUNBRICK BURIAL GROUND, NEAR ULVERSTON.

The graves cannot be distinguished.

FROM A COPY BY THE LATE MISS HANNAH GOAD, 1857.

	Mo.	Day.	Year.		Mo.	Day.	Year.
*Abraham, Margaret ..	4	28	1686	Ashburner, Jacob ..	6	11	1728
Addison, Elizabeth ..	8	15	1680	,, Mary ..	12	10	1728
,, Leonard ..	4	8	1686	,, Mary ..	2	4	1729
Ashburner, Leonard ..	11	17	1659	,, John ..	10	23	1732
,, Jane ..	7	10	1670	Askew, Richard ..	2	6	1676

	Mo.	Day.	Year.
Audland, John	11	3	1752
Banck, Dorothy	12	5	1695
Bell, Ann	3	7	1685
,, John & his son (drowned)	8	23	1704
Benson, John	4	15	1660
,, Rosemond	4	5	1666
,, Joseph	6	12	1668
,, Ellen	6	1	1671
,, Elizabeth	7	26	1671
,, Rachel	7	9	1676
,, Thomas	2	26	1678
,, Dorothy	11	31?	1695
Birket, Nicholas	6	28	1672
,, Tobias	4	7	1696
,, Hannah	7	18	1730
Borwick, Thomas, Senr.	8	14	1684
,, Thomas, Senr.	4	26	1715
,, Elizabeth	11	16	1732
Briggs, Sarah	4	28	1665
Burwick, Dorothy	8	21	1681
Carter, William	9	16	1686
Chambers, John	10	4	1669
,, James	12	5	1676
,, Ellen	9	6	1682
Clayton, Margaret	9	19	1664
,, Sarah	10	17	1685
Cleaton, Rachab	10	6	1662
,, Margaret	12	20	1662
,, Ellen	2	27	1685
Colison, Ann	3	15	1692
,, Nicholas	7	2	1708
Collinson, Elinor	2	15	1699
Cooper, Walter	1	2	1669
,, Edward	1	12	1688
,, George	9	23	1693
,, Alice	3	30	1694
Coulton, Jennet	6	22	1689
Couper, Robert	7	12	1682
*Cowell, Jane	3	28	1717
Curwen, Isaac	1	2	1668
,, John	6	28	1688
,, Jacob	11	22	1675
,, Beatrix	1	22	1703
,, Manuel	3	9	1729
,, William	11	8	1732
Danson, Sarah	3	25	1705
,, Joseph	12	6	1706
Dodgshon, John	5	16	1703
,, Elizabeth	7	26	1703
,, John	12	5	1706

	Mo.	Day.	Year.
Elletson, George	6	25	1657
Fell, Agnes	2	12	1662
,, Sarah	1	10	1672
,, Thomas	11	28	1672
,, George	3	10	1677
,, Sarah	7	11	1677
,, Thomas, Senr.	9	8	1681
,, Mary	7	24	1683
,, Daniel	8	12	1687
,, John	5	4	1701
,, Jacob	4	6	1705
,, James	12	25	1705
,, Mary	2	28	1708
,, Sarah	2	22	1711
,, George	2	3	1712
,, William	6	3	1712
,, Rachel	6	3	1715
,, Thomas	9	28	1715
,, Mary	10	28	1715
,, Thomas	1	27	1720
,, Elizabeth	3	29	1724
Fisher, Milcah	2	1	1661
,, Mary	8	9	1663
,, ——	10	3	1665
,, Phoebe	5	25	1667
,, Agnes	12	25	1669
,, Jennet	8	13	1680
,, Joseph	1	23	1682
,, Elizabeth	10	4	1690
,, Mary	2	7	1694
,, Mary (Little Cross)	3	1	1695
,, William	10	25	1707
,, Thomas	8	24	1712
,, Margaret	7	3	1715
,, Elizabeth	7	26	1715
†Fox, Margaret, of Swarthmore Hall	2	27	1702
Gawith, John	8	15	1709
,, Agnes	2	11	1712
,, Elizabeth	11	15	1717
Geldart, George	12	12	1657
,, Sarah	10	3	1680
,, Abraham	2	17	1688
,, Martha	5	31	1689
,, Benjamin	1	6	1692
,, Margaret	1	13	1693
,, Sarah	8	12	1695
,, James	1	22	1717
Goad, Thomas	3	27	1699
,, Jane	2	11	1701

	Mo.	Day.	Year.
Goad, John	9	15	1709
,, James	10	2	1711
,, Hannah	1	13	1717
,, Esther	6	11	1722
,, John	6	14	1729
,, John	9	24	1764
Hall, Elizabeth ..	1	12	1671
,, Daniel	12	4	1679
,, Margaret	7	15	1680
*Hathornthwaite, William	10	30	1648
,, William	2	24	1700
,, John ..	2	16	1731
Haverick, Elizabeth ..	9	18	1687
Haverigge, Thomas ..	11	12	1693
Herd, Edward ..	2	22	1701
Hodgshon, Emmet ..	11	18	1695
Holme, William ..	6	16	1685
,, Jane	6	17	1710
,, Margaret ..	11	26	1710
,, Isabel	12	13	1716
Hutton, Elizabeth ..	12	13	1680
,, Thomas ..	4	6	1695
,, Jennet.. ..	10	13	1716
Jackson, Hester ..	12	1	1688
Jeckell, Robert ..	5	12	1676
Kilner, Jennet.. ..	6	7	1672
Killner, John	5	27	1681
Kirbye, Thomas ..	1	6	1657
Kirkby, John	3	24	1680
,, Elizabeth ..	3	17	1680
Kirkbye, Margaret ..	5	21	1701
,, Barbary ..	1	29	1702
Lancaster, Margaret ..	3	18	1697
* ,, James ..	4	14	1699
,, Margaret ..	12	24	1712
Lamp, Henry	3	9	1711
,, Robert	3	15	1712
Leece, Margaret ..	2	24	1696
Lindow, John	5	19	1700
Lower, Margaret ..	1	15	1675
,, Humphrey ..	6	18	1679
,, Thomas ..	7	15	1680
,, Sarah	12	5	1682
,, Edward ..	8	30	1685
Marshall, Marg'ret ..	4	24	1697
,, Nicholas ..	10	29	1711
,, Deborah ..	—	—	1736
Miller, Nathaniel ..	11	26	1753
,, Mary	3	24	1767
Milner, Christopher ..	2	5	1695
,, Elizabeth ..	9	3	1729
Millner, Alice	5	7	1672
,, Ruth Agnes ..	5	11	1689
,, Jane	10	20	1701
,, James	5	24	1662
,, James	9	28	1687
,, Agnes	5	11	1689
Myres, Richard, Junr.	—	—	1654
,, Richard, Senr.	10	11	1675
,, Thomas ..	8	14	1680
,, Margaret ..	11	25	1688
,, James	9	1	1695
,, Robert	12	21	1696
,, Sarah	7	28	1697
,, Elizabeth ..	4	19	1705
,, James	2	17	1711
,, Alice	5	13	1714
Ormondy, Anne ..	8	3	1660
,, Jannet ..	7	24	1670
,, Agnes ..	6	19	1676
Ormonday, Dorothy ..	10	24	1704
Parke, Robert	8	1	1659
,, John	11	29	1659
,, Elizabeth ..	12	2	1683
,, Thomas.. ..	12	6	1688
,, Lydia	1	30	1698
,, Allis	4	14	1699
,, Thomas.. ..	5	24	1701
,, James	12	27	1709
,, Agnes	12	22	1724
Pearson, Francis ..	7	4	1670
Pennington, Robert ..	7	10	1670
,, Agnes ..	7	10	1670
,, Ann ..	3	1	1691
,, Robert ..	5	15	1694
,, Ann ..	2	10	1695
,, Mary ..	11	28	1696
,, Paul ..	1	30	1719
,, Mary ..	11	17	1730
Rigge, Matthew ..	1	20	1658
Rouse, Lydia	7	12	1666
Sanderson, Thomas ..	1	15	1690-1
*Sharpe, Mary	2	18	1664
Simondson, James ..	4	24	1658
,, Jane ..	7	8	1679
Simpson, Christopher ..	2	23	1681
,, William ..	1	27	1740
,, William ..	5	19	1755
,, Marg'ret ..	5	19	1764

	Mo.	Day.	Year.		Mo.	Day.	Year.
Symson, Ann ..	10	6	1669	Williamson, Mary	7	27	1696
Singleton, Ann ..	2	22	1756	Wilson, Thomas	11	9	1680
Towers, Lettice	6	7	1689	Willson, Tobiah	5	27	1662
Townson, Rachel	3	27	1691	,, Thomas	6	26	1662
,, Thomas	7	30	1718	Woodell, Jennet	11	25	1678
Wales, Robert ..	3	7	1678	Wright, Elizabeth	9	9	1720
Ward, Joseph ..	2	13	1705	Yeates, Isaack ..	7	12	1657
White, Francis ..	9	22	1711	Yeomans, Rachel	4	23	1676

* In another list "Margaret Abraham 1686" is 1659; she was probably a daughter of Rachel Abraham, who was married in 1682. "Ellen Chambers 1682" is 1684. "Jane Cowell 1717" is 1777. "William Hathornthwaite 1648" is 1668. "James Lancaster 1699" is 1669; he was alive in 1675. "Mary Sharpe 1664" is 1654.

† Aged 89, a Minister convinced of the truth, 1652.

In addition to the 224 names referred to, Mrs. Mary Clayton of Ulverston informs me of another Friend not included in the list of burials at Sunbrick, viz. :—

		mo.		
Cooper, Edmond ...	...	11	18	1688

Two others are recorded by the late Chancellor Ferguson in *Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends*, pp. 37 and 40, whose names are also not included in the list, viz. :—John Audland, buried at Birkrigg Park, 1663; and John Camm, buried at Birkrigg in 1656 or 1657. There are also two others I have traced, recorded by James Goad, schoolmaster, viz :—Ester Goad, his daughter, buried at Sunbreck, September 6th, 1714; and Margaret Goad, his wife, also buried at Sunbreck, December 13th, 1749, making the total number 229.

The burial place at Sunbrick is referred to in various assurances from 1697 to 1739 inclusive, beginning with John Woodburn, and ending with Thomas Fell. In 1703 is the following admittance :—

August ye 2d 1703. Manm de Muchland.

> The same day came Robert Salthouse of Beachlife, Richard Park & William Simpson younger both of Sunbrick and James Fell late of Wellhouse in their prop. persons before James Simondson deputy Steward to William Simpson,

Gentleman, Steward there, and in open Court surrendered into the hands of the Lord of the Manor all that their Title & Interest in and unto one little Parrock of ground within the Teretorys of Sunbrick aforesaid and near adjoining to Berkrigge wth the appurtenances and of the yearly rent of 2^d^ to the use of Joseph Goad & James Fell of Beaklife and Thomas Crossfield of Plumpton & William Salthouse younger of Mountbarrow, for their only use, viz.:—for a Burial place for the people of God which in these times By the multitude are called Quakers. To have and to hold to them the said Joseph Goad James Fell Thomas Crossfield & Wm Salthouse for the only use aforesaid

Ja. Simonson Deputy Steward
ibm.

Sed^m^ &c.

Augt ye 12th 1703.

Came William Simpson abovesaid and did confess himself content with this surrender before me Ja. Simonson

Deputy Steward.

Among other rents and customs, the Bloomsmithy rent of 2½d. was paid to John Taylor on 8th March, 1824, in respect of Rookhow or Rakehow Estate.

A yearly "ffee farme Rent of ffoure shillings eight pence ffarthing or thereabouts" was paid in 1678 in respect of the land at Height in Cartmel Fell.

In the same year another rent of one shilling and ten pence for "knoweing" was paid. This rent was claimable every two and a half years, and in 1775 a rent of two shillings and nine pence halfpenny called a "knowinge rent" was also paid.

The burial place adjoining the meeting-house at Swarthmore is about half an acre in extent, and is also surrounded by a stone wall, overgrown with ivy and in places with rue-fern.

In the list of "Names of Friends interred in Sunbreak and Swarthmore Burial Grounds," by Miss Hannah Goad, 1857, that of Elizabeth Briggs at Swarthmore is dated June 15th, 1654. Meetings for worship were held between 1652 and 1690 in Swarthmoor Hall, but the

need for a burial place was in all cases more urgent than for a meeting-house, and thus Friends may have been buried at Swarthmore in 1654, although the next record is in 1712. Between the years 1654 and 1659, ten burials were recorded at Sunbrick; and between 1660 and 1669 twenty-three, the last burial there occurring in 1767.

NAMES OF 173 FRIENDS INTERRED IN SWARTHMORE BURIAL GROUND, NEAR ULVERSTON.

The graves cannot be distinguished.

FROM A COPY BY THE LATE HANNAH GOAD, 1857.

	Mo.	Day.	Year.
Abraham, Daniel	10	27	1731
,, Rachel	10	17	1732
,, Sarah	4	10	1735
,, ——	2	13	1744
,, Sarah	6	22	1744
,, John	5	2	1771
Airey, John	1	14	1815
Atkinson, James	2	9	1732
,, Isaac	2	9	1732
,, Thomas	4	17	1781
,, Mary	12	5	1806
,, Hannah	2	10	1810
Barrow, Edward	7	20	1749
Battersby, Mary	6	24	1759
,, Mary	8	3	1760
,, Elizabeth	11	30	1761
,, Mary	6	7	1772
Bell, Jane	7	30	1723
Benson, Agnes	7	11	1763
,, Thomas	6	1	1766
,, George	8	11	1772
,, William	8	27	1776
,, William	7	14	1800
,, Hannah	11	22	1809
,, Sarah	11	4	1812
,, Mary Junr (*sic*)	2	22	1813
Berry, Christopher	2	23	1728
Boy, Deborah	10	30	1721
Braithwait, Edward	2	22	1719
Briggs, Elizabeth	4	15	1654
Brockbank, Dorothy	7	30	1728
,, John	11	2	1736
,, Thomas	9	—	1761
,, John	6	25	1785
,, John	2	9	1793
,, Sarah	1	10	1798
,, Dinah	2	21	1800
,, Mary	11	3	1807
,, Thomas	4	11	1829
Brown, Hannah	12	2	1764
Browne, James	2	9	1720
Chamney, Mary	1	31	1758
,, Thomas	2	6	1768
Crosfield, Dorothy	3	30	1721
,, Hannah	7	25	1727
,, Stephen	7	6	1728
,, Ann	1	13	1745
,, Thomas	9	7	1746
Couts, William (not a member)	3	20	1783
Danson, John	6	20	1721
Dickinson, Jane	1	24	1784
Dixon, John	4	6	1766
Dodgson, Elizabeth	3	14	1729
Dodgshon, James	8	23	1729
,, Elizabeth	5	10	1732
,, John	4	15	1766
Dodshon, Jane	5	12	1732

	Mo.	Day.	Year.
Fell, John	9	2	1720
,, Joseph	10	23	1720
,, Agnes	10	4	1721
,, John	11	30	1721
,, Julian	9	10	1722
,, Sarah	11	29	1723
,, Dorothy	6	14	1724
,, Thomas	9	2	1724
,, John	12	16	1725
,, Mary	2	16	1728
,, Matthew	12	19	1735
,, Margaret	9	21	1747
,, Margaret	1	4	1748
,, Ann	7	23	1751
,, Hannah	10	9	1757
,, Margaret	10	14	1764
,, Thomas, Senr.	2	4	1771
,, Matthew	4	16	1771
,, Stephen	3	20	1773
,, Abraham	2	21	1775
,, Matthew	4	12	1775
,, Thomas	3	12	1776
,, Agnes	11	29	1776
,, Hannah	9	16	1777
,, Thomas	4	10	1779
,, Susanna	3	13	1785
,, William	5	26	1787
,, Leonard	10	16	1796
,, Mary	5	1	1798
,, John	6	12	1803
Fisher, Edward	2	1	1728
,, Thomas	6	15	1731
,, Edward	7	16	1733
,, Margaret	2	28	1736
,, Deborah	2	25	1737
,, Thomas	12	12	1762
,, Elizabeth	10	6	1765
,, Mary	1	17	1766
,, Sarah	7	6	1768
,, Roger	5	3	1777
Foster, Myles	8	27	1779
Gardner, Margaret	1	9	1732
Gawith, Joseph	12	2	1746
Geldart, Mary	2	19	1731
Goad, Rebeccah	5	29	1734
,, Francis	1	27	1743
,, Margaret	12	13	1749
,, Joseph	9	10	1751
,, Elizabeth	1	1	1765
,, Robert	2	15	1772
Goad, Michaell	8	28	1772
,, Rachel	8	28	1772
,, Joseph	7	26	1775
,, Elizabeth	10	9	1778
,, Jane	1	17	1789
,, Sarah	6	11	1780
,, Hannah	3	19	1792
,, James	3	18	1795
,, Hannah	8	22	1796
,, Mary	1	4	1801
,, Mary	4	5	1803
,, Anna	5	24	1813
,, Thomas	12	2	1814
,, Joseph, Junr.	12	27	1814
Hodgson, William	9	30	1754
,, Isabel	12	11	1781
Hodgshon, Sarah	3	6	1791
Holme, George	7	10	1722
,, George	7	4	1723
Johnson, Elizabeth	11	14	1775
,, Daniel	11	13	1784
Kellet, Robert	12	26	1749
Lindow, James	5	24	1771
,, Margt	12	16	1780
,, Agnes	9	28	1783
Marchell, John	12	20	1735
Marshall, John	12	20	1735
Morland, Isaac	4	18	1798
Nealson, James	4	1	1755
Neilson, Joseph	4	26	1723
Nelson, Joseph	8	26	1723
Noble, Mary	12	21	1768
,, Rebecca	4	16	1770
Parke, Daniel	12	13	1797
Petty, John	7	2	1725
Phillipson, William	5	30	1726
,, Jane	9	22	1750
Sanderson, James	11	3	1725
,, James	11	31?	1725
,, John	12	10	1725
Sandys, Dorothy	12	20	1724
,, Rebecca	9	21	1740
,, Deborah	3	30	1744
Salthouse, Hannah	1	17	1725
,, Hannah	3	22	1731
,, William	12	18	1746
,, William	4	9	1749
,, Deborah	10	24	1759
,, Agnes	12	23	1765
,, William	6	27	1773

	Mo.	Day.	Year.
Salthouse, Mary ..	11	11	1796
,, Elijah ..	5	2	1802
,, Elijah ..	7	17	1805
,, William ..	3	31	1806
,, Hannah ..	9	25	1806
,, Thomas ..	12	10	1813
,, Thomas ..	9	11	1817
,, Elizabeth ..	12	3	1821
Salthouse, Thomas ..	9	15	1827
Taylor, John	11	30	1712
,, Joseph	3	20	1777
Todd, Nicholas.. ..	6	12	1728
Tubman, Hannah ..	1	21	1716-7
Williamson, Isabel ..	1	5	1730
Woodburn, Ann ..	2	—	1757
Wright, John	7	19	1724

The list does not give the place were Matthew Rigge was interred on March 20th, 1658. As it was probably at Sunbrick, I have added his name to that list. There are two, and probably three, duplicate entries—"Joseph Gawith, 12 . 2 . 1746; John Marshall (or Marchell), 12 . 20 . 1735; and William Salthouse, 12 . 18 . 1746." One of the first and last of these entries has been omitted here.

The number of interments at Swarthmore to 1829 is 183, and including those at Sunbrick a total of 412, and to March, 1905, a total of 476.

At Swarthmore burial ground there are now (December, 1905) 109 grass-grown mounds, 87 of which are without any headstone. The twenty-two graves to which headstones are placed denote the return to the practice of the early Friends of placing a small memorial stone on the graves of their relatives. This return to an old custom was apparently first carried out in this district at Swarthmore in the case of Sarah Goad of Baycliffe, aged 81 years, who died 20th November, 1835. The headstones face towards the east, are about two feet in height, with semi-circular tops, and some have only the initials and dates to record the memory of those departed.

Six of the headstones are in memory of members of the Goad family. This family, from the seventeenth century, has been prominent in all good works connected with the Society of Friends in Furness; the latest member being Hannah Goad of Edge End, Ulverston, who died August 8th, 1885, aged 83 years. Only on one stone is

there any quotation. "So he giveth his beloved sleep," appears on the stone in memory of Anthony Casson of Ulverston, 1879, aged 75, and Eliza his widow, 1904, aged 88.

ART. XVI.—*Two old Deeds of the Sanderson Family.* By W. N. THOMPSON.

Read at Carlisle, April 17th, 1905.

MR. John Sanderson, of Grange Cote, Tunbridge Wells, is the possessor of a number of old Cumberland deeds, two of which he has kindly communicated through the Editor.

I.

The earlier deed relates to land in the parish of Ainstable (Anstapelith). It reads as follows, with contractions expanded :—

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris Willelmus de Anstapelith salutem in domino sempiternam. Noueritis me dedisse, concessisse, et omnino quietum clamasse Isabelle de Anstapelith, matri mee, totum Ius et clamium quod habeo vel habui vel aliquo modo habere potero in terris et tenementis meis que habui in campo et territorio de Anstapelith cum omnibus libertatibus [et*] asyamentis ad dictas terras et tenementa pertinentibus, infra villam et extra, bene et in pace, Tenenda et habenda dicte Isabelle et heredibus suis seu assignatis imperpetuum, ita quod non liceat mihi nec heredibus meis de cetero aliquod ius vel clamium in dictis terris et tenementis inposuisse. In cuius Rei testimonium presenti huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Datum apud Anstapelith in festo sancti Botulphi Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi tertio. Hijs testibus, domino Henrico vicario de Anstapelith, Galfrido filio clementis de eadem, Willelmo Aldus de eadem, Waltero filio thome de eadem et alijs.

By this document William of Ainstable releases all his right to certain lands and tenements (not specified) in Ainstable to his mother Isabella. The date is in the

* Omitted in MS.

Feast of St. Botolph 3 Edward II.—*i.e.*, June 17th, 1310. The witnesses are Henry, then vicar; Geoffrey, son of Clement; William Aldus, and Walter, son of Thomas—all of Ainstable.

From the facsimile here given, it will be noticed that the document is in the handwriting of the period at which it is dated.

II.

The other deed passes a little tenement in Dalston:—

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus Thomson filius Thome Johanson de Gaytscales* dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Simoni Johanson de Gaytscales vnum mesuagium et vnum croftum cum pertinentiis in Gaytscales, sicut iacet inter terram Willelmi de Stapilton ex parte vna et terram Simonis de Gaytscales ex parte altra [*sic*], habenda et tenenda mesuagium et croftum predicta cum omnibus suis pertinentiis prefato Simoni Johanson, heredibus et assignatis suis, de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per seruicia inde debita et de iure consueta imperpetuum. Et ego vero predictus Ricardus et heredes mei predicta mesuagium et croftum cum omnibus suis pertinentiis prefato Simoni† Johanson heredibus et assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et defendemus imperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui, hiis testibus Johanne de Dalston seniore, Thoma de Raghton, Ricardo de Beaulieu, et Johanne de Dalston Juniore et aliis. Datum apud Gaytscales in festo ramarum [*sic*] palmarum anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi vicæsimo.

Richard Thomson, son of Thomas Johanson of Gaitsgill, conveys to Simon Johanson of Gaitsgill a messuage and croft there, lying between William de Stapilton's land and that of Simon of Gaitsgill.

The date is in the Feast of Palm Branches, 20 Richard II.; and as Easter Day in 20 Richard II. fell on April 22nd, the date of this document will be April 15th, 1397. It appears, so far as I can judge, to be in the handwriting of the period.

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* Gaitsgill in Dalston.

† "De" has here been inserted in MS., but cancelled by dots placed beneath

As witnesses we have two Dalstons (? father and son) and a Raughton, heads or members of the chief local families. As to Richard de Beaulieu or Bewley, Mr. Sanderson supposes him to have been the Richard who was M.P. for Cumberland in 1385, and an ancestor of his. This Richard lived at Thistlethwaite in Castle Sowerby (see Sir Edmund Bewley's book on the family). But there were probably Bewleys living in Dalston at this early period, as there certainly were at a later time; and it has been suggested from the similarity of their arms—a chevron between 3 daws' heads (the punning arms of Dalston)—that the two families had a common origin, and that the first Bewley may have acquired the name from Bewley Castle, the old Westmorland residence of the Bishops of Carlisle. What less unlikely than that a younger son of the Dalstons may have been steward there, and afterwards come back to Dalston? (See *The Ancestor*, iv., p. 180.)

As to "Richard Thomson son of Thomas Johanson," our Editor writes:—"In ancient times a person was known all over the North, as in Greece, by his own name and his patronymic; Olaf Tryggvason, Tosti Godwinsson, Gospatric f. Orme. If a nickname or the name of his estate were added it made three names to the individual; Helgi Magri Ketilsson, Thorfynn mac Thore de Cardeu, and so on. In some countries the rule lasted long in recognised usage; I believe it was only in the nineteenth century that some Welsh patronymics became fixed as surnames. In rustic parts of Denmark, I am told, the old fashion has not quite died out; while in Iceland it is still used regularly, though fixed surnames are beginning to be adopted. In the north of England during the Middle Ages territorial surname implied county family; the ordinary mortal was William Johnson, and his son Thomas Williamson, and daughter Mary Williams-daughter. Forms like 'John o' Tom' in the vernacular of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the Isle of Man (*e.g.*, in

Tim Bobbin and local novels) show the persistence of the old habit in another shape. But this instance of 'Richard Thomson son of Thomas Johanson' in a legal document concerning people of landed property at the end of the fourteenth century seems to be rather unusual and interesting."

ART. XVII.—*Remarks on Bishop Gastrell's "Notitia Cestriensis."* By W. N. THOMPSON.

Read at Carlisle, April 27th, 1905.

THESE remarks are intended to refer only to that portion of the *Notitia* which includes the ancient deaneries of Coupland, Kendal, and Lonsdale, which once formed part of the diocese of Chester, and were formerly (until 1541) in the diocese of York, and now belong to the bishopric of Carlisle.

Dr. Francis Gastrell became Bishop of Chester in 1714, and died in 1725. "Immediately upon his elevation to the see of Chester," says Canon Raines *(Not. Cest.*, vol. ii., part ii., p. li.), "he appears to have commenced his *Notitia Cestriensis*,* which he compiled from a great variety of public and private documents, from his own episcopal registers (some of which are now lost), as well as from personal investigations and printed circular queries."

I may mention that the MS. *Notitia Cestriensis* is a large folio volume in Bishop Gastrell's handwriting, each page being divided into two columns. The parishes, with their chapelries, are arranged alphabetically under their respective deaneries. The first column contains the certified value of the living and how made up, together with much information about the parish generally; its townships, hamlets, villages, &c.; its ancient halls, seats and granges, if any; how the churchwardens and parish clerks were chosen, whether canonically or not; customs of tithing and laying assessments, and so on. In the first and

* Canon Raines edited the Lancashire and Cheshire portion of the *Notitia* for the Chetham Society.

second columns of the opposite or right-hand page are given accounts of any endowed schools within the parish, and of charities. The information in these three columns is chiefly derived from the returns which the several incumbents made to the printed queries which were sent to them.

The second column on the left-hand page contains antiquarian and historical notes, collected by the bishop himself, from various manuscript and printed sources.

Of printed books he makes most use, as might be expected, of Dugdale's *Monasticon* with Stephens' continuation (1722). He also quotes Roger Gale's *Registrum Honoris de Richmund* and Camden's *Britannia.*

Of collections of documents which he most frequently cites may be mentioned "MS. Ebor.," "MS. L.," "Dodsw. MS.," and "MS. Hulm."

By "MS. Ebor." is generally meant, I think, the Registrum Magnum Album, "a great collection of documents, precedents, and charters" (Bp. Stubbs *Reg. Sac. Angl.*), in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of York. "MS. L.," or the "Lansdowne MSS.," is a similar volume of smaller size in the British Museum (*Ibid.*). The Dodsworth collections are frequently cited. "MS. Hulm." I suppose to be a reference to the MSS. of the four Randle Holmes, the famous Chester antiquaries, which were acquired by Harley Lord Oxford on Bishop Gastrell's recommendation, and now form part of the Harleian collection.*

Not many of the registers to which the bishop refers can now be identified. One is that of Henry Bowet, archdeacon of Richmond (1418-? 1442), which is frequently brought under contribution. It has disappeared. Another is that of Dr. John Bridgman (Bishop of Chester, 1619,

* Under "St. Bees," the bishop mentions a petition about the school to the Bishop of Chester by William Lickborough, schoolmaster, and gives as his authority MS. Hulm. 98, A. 16, 83. Carlisle (*Endowed Schools*, i., p. 165) gives extracts from the same petition as taken from Harl. MSS., No. 2176, art. 134.

d. 1652), which, I am glad to say, is still preserved at Chester. "Reg. N.N." and "Reg. B.B.B." we cannot identify.

We shall conclude with some notes from the "returns":—

The ninth query was, "Have you any Ancient Seats, Halls, Granges, and how called?" At Beetham they say they have no hall or seat "but bears its name fm ye town" except Dallam Tower. At Dean, "Branthwaite Hall, Crakeplace Hall & Pardshaw Hall are wt we look upon as most antient in our Parish." At Gosforth, "We have no ancient Seats Halls or Granges in our Parish." So of Muncaster, Irton, and Hail. The replies to this query seem to have been less satisfactory than to any other.

Query seventeen runs:—"Have you any particular or unusual Custom of Tything?" And from Cockermouth we have this answer:—

We have four men call'd Proctors which collects [*sic*] of every Inhabitant at Eastr three Halfpence which they call Com'unicant money but neither provides bread nor wine with it.

We Have these four proctors wch if anybody above ye age of 16 years refuse to pay their dues (as they call it) They get a Conviction before ye justices of ye Peace and makes them pay unreasonable Charges. They will not receive their dues sent by any Quaker unless they will carry such fees themselves: but gets them Convicted. They farm these tythes to make a proffit."

At Harrington:—

There is a particular custom relating to tyth-corn in ye township of Lowkay, but such as has prevailed, as I'm informed, for several years past there, wch is this, that after ye tyth-corn is gather'd & hous'd by ye Rector or his order, he has the grain, & ye people ye straw, they thrashing their respective proportions of it, and paying on [*sic*] half-peny per thrave to his leaper, yt is, to ye man who leaps or binds ye straw, after it is thrash'd, into leaps or sheaves.

In reply to query fifteen ("Have you any particular Custom of making Lays, or Assessments?"), we have this account from Millom:—

We have an ancient custom of laying our Church-tax by ye name of Cullsale wch is six pounds six shillings throughout ye whole parish. A Cullsale is two pounds two shillings in Ulpha, one pound four shillings & four pence Above Millom, seventeen shillings & three-pence Below Millom, sixteen shillings & one peny Chapel Suken & one pound six shillings & four pence Thwaits, wch makes up ye sum of six pounds six shillings, a whole Cullsale.

Under the head of "remarkable customs," we have this from St. Bees:—

By a remarkable custom through the Parish of St. Bees twelve Pence is paid for the Head of every Fox and for the Head of every Brock or Badger, four Pence for the Head of every Raven and as much for the Head of every Eagle, whereby the Assessments to the Repairs of the Parish Church are very much lessen'd, more especially in the mountainous parts of the Parish.

Most of the matter contained in the "returns" has been embodied by Bishop Gastrell in *Notitia Cestriensis*.

ART. XVIII.—*On a Stone Coffin and Chalice found at St. Nicholas, Carlisle.* By HENRY BARNES, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

Read at Conishead, June 29th, 1905.

WHEN enquiring into the history of the sculptured stone trough described in the last volume of these *Transactions* (vol. v., N.S., p. 202), which had been entered by the late Chancellor Ferguson in the catalogue of the Tullie House Museum as "391, Stone Coffin, Roman, from near Carlisle," I directed some attention to the practice of burial in stone coffins, and endeavoured to trace the history of such coffins as had been found in the district.

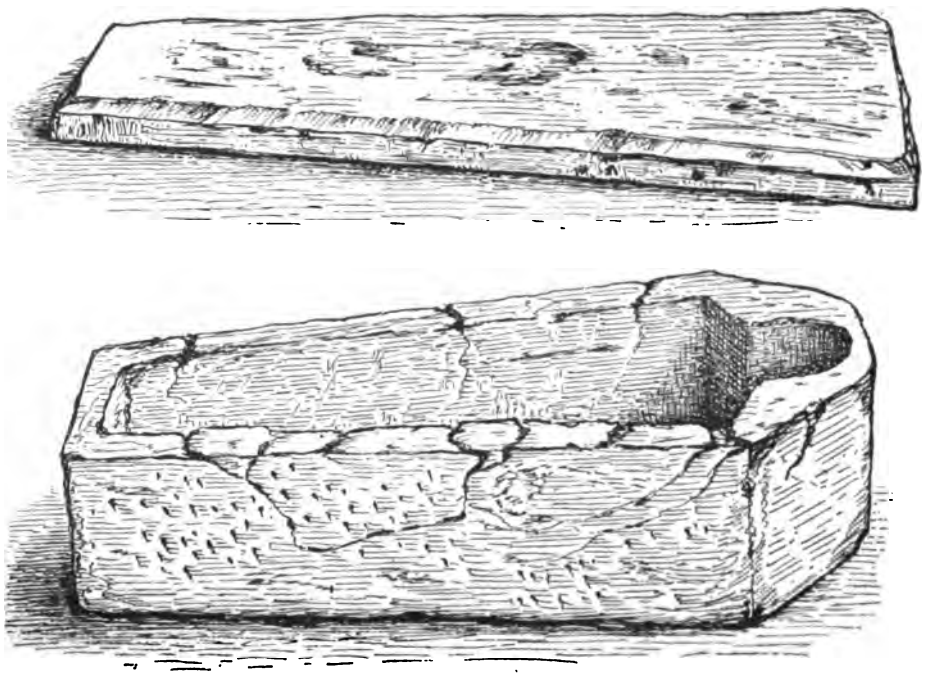
Of local stone coffins there are several of interest. In 1829, when a new bridge was being made across the Petterill near Harraby Hill, a deep cutting was made on the east side of Gallows Hill, as it was locally called; and in the course of the excavations a leaden coffin was discovered (*Carlisle Patriot*, July 4th, 1829). The leaden coffin was broken by the weight into three or four pieces. The contents were lost in the fall, and no vestige remained but a small part of a skull and some hair of a reddish colour. The length of the coffin was about 3 feet 7 inches, the height 22 inches, and the width 22 inches. In the report of this discovery published in the local paper at the time, it is suggested that as the length of the coffin could not contain the remains of a person of ordinary size, and as Gallows Hill was the place of public execution in former times, it is probable that the person had first been executed and then quartered. A few days later a stone coffin was discovered near the same place. I can find no further trace of these coffins. Mr. George Dawson tells

me that some years ago a stone coffin was discovered near Cobble Hall, on the side of the road leading from the Moorhouse Road to Grinsdale Bridge, and not far from the probable site of Kirksteads. He states that the late Chancellor Ferguson inspected the stone coffin, but I cannot find that he has left any description of it. Subsequently it was moved to Hosket Hill, and has, I am sorry to say, been broken up into fragments.

The most interesting local stone coffin which still remains to us is that mentioned in Jefferson's *History of Carlisle** (p. 148), as having been found near the site of the Leper Hospital at St. Nicholas, Carlisle. Through the kindness of Mrs. Isaac Cartmell, of St. Nicholas View, I have been able to trace the history of this coffin. The exact date when the coffin was dug up is not known. Jefferson says, in his *History*, published in 1838, that it was dug up "some years since." Mrs. Cartmell says that it was on the premises when her grandfather—Joseph Studholme, Esq.—first occupied them, which was before 1770; and the pewter chalice, which according to family tradition was found in the coffin, is still in her possession.† The coffin was used in her grandfather's time as a watering-trough for the horses and cattle. It was in the field, and was separated from the yard by a light paling. It was supplied with water from a pump, which had two leaden spouts—one over the coffin, and the other over a square trough in the yard. The lid of the coffin was a plain, oblong, thick, gray stone. It was used as a stone table. About five and twenty years ago the coffin was purchased by the late Mr. John Thomlinson from the railway company, and removed to his residence at Englethwaite, near Cotehill, and it is still there. I visited

* *The History and Antiquities of Carlisle*, published by Samuel Jefferson, 1838.

† It will be satisfaction to antiquaries to know that since this was written Mrs. Cartmell has very kindly presented this interesting relic to the Tullie House Museum.



STONE COFFIN AND LID AT ENGLETHWAITE.

Englethwaite recently, and through the kindness of Miss Nairn, the present owner, I had the opportunity of making a careful examination of the coffin and the lid.* The coffin has been broken, but has been roughly repaired. It is of red sandstone, similar to that which is found on the Gelt, a few miles east of Carlisle. It is 78 inches long, 27 inches across the widest part, 18 inches across the narrowest part, and 16½ inches deep. The width of the inside is 8½ inches at the head, 19 inches at the shoulder, and 13 inches at the feet. The depth of the interior of the coffin is 11 inches. There is a deep furrow running down the middle from the shoulders, terminating in a hole in the bottom of the coffin. The lid is of grey sandstone, but I am assured it may have come from the same quarry. It is 77 inches long, 21 inches wide at the top end, 16 inches at the bottom, and about 6 inches in thickness, On its upper surface it has bevelled edges all round. There is no carving on the coffin, but there are a few linear chisel marks on the lid. I cannot make out any inscription. Mr. Linnæus E. Hope has kindly made the sketches which are here submitted. They are not drawn to scale. It will be seen that the measurements of the lid and the coffin do not correspond, and it is possible it may have belonged to some other coffin, but I can find no record of any other coffin having been found in the district.

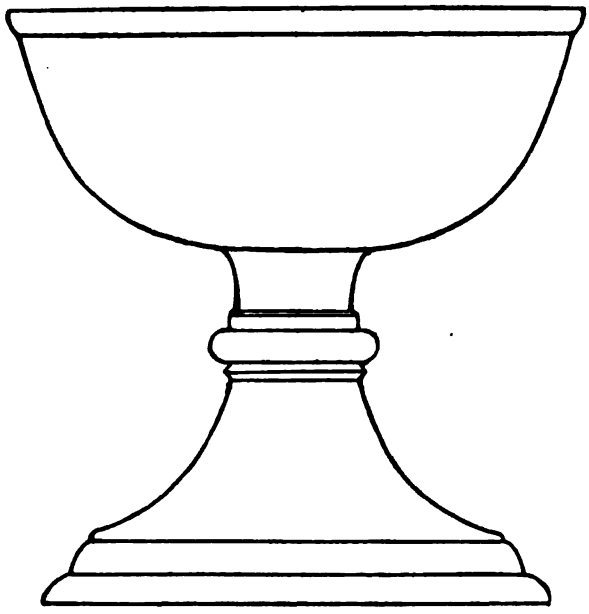
The chalice said to have been found in the coffin is of pewter; the interior of the bowl bears traces of having been silver-plated. It has unfortunately become broken. It has been frequently exhibited, and it is briefly referred to in a footnote, p. 234, of "The Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle." Through the kindness of Mr. Joseph Cartmell, a member of this Society, I have had a drawing made representing the chalice restored. The height of

* Miss Nairn has since presented these interesting relics to the Tullie House Museum, and they have been placed in the mediæval room.

the chalice has been 4⅝ inches, the diameter of the top 4½ inches, and of the foot 4 inches. It belongs to the early type of pre-Reformation chalices, and closely resembles some of the earliest known chalices which have been found in the tombs of the ecclesiastics. A few have been found in the tombs of bishops and priests of the eleventh and following century.* In a paper by Mr. M. H. Bloxam published in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxviii., p. 109, it is stated that "by the constitutions of William de Blois, Bishop of Worcester, 1229, two chalices were required for every church, one of silver to be used at mass, the other unconsecrated and made of tin, with which the priest was to be buried." Occasionally a chalice of more precious metal was deposited, but such as have been found have usually been of pewter.

In describing the form of pre-Reformation chalice, Mr. Octavius Morgan says:—"The chalice consists of three parts—the cup or bowl, the stem which in its middle swelled into a bulb called the knop; and the foot. The bowl itself was usually quite plain in order that it might be more easily kept pure and clean. The stem, knop and foot were ornamented with enamels or chased work, representing the emblems of the Passion or other sacred subjects." Chalices of this period may be broadly classified into three types—the Norman, the Gothic, and the Tudor; and although these are chronologically as well as in point of fashion distinct, the first type corresponds with the late Romanesque or Norman epoch of architecture, the Gothic covers almost exactly the Perpendicular period, and the third coincides with the reign of Henry VIII.

* Mr. Collingwood has brought under my notice a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A., on February 18th, 1904, in which he describes a silver chalice found at Trewhiddle, Cornwall, and now in the British Museum. The chalice was found in 1774 about seventeen feet below the surface, covered by a slate, in a heap of loose stones. It contained gold and silver objects, and coins of dates before 875. The ornament of the objects dates about the ninth century. The chalice seems to be about the same period. It is about 5 inches high, 4¼ inches in diameter. In shape it resembles the St. Nicholas chalice.



CHALICE FOUND IN THE STONE COFFIN AT ST. NICHOLAS, CARLISLE, RESTORED.

The first group includes chalices of the Norman type. The period is from 1170 to 1350. The chalice under consideration belongs to this period, and to the earlier part of it. There are two sub-divisions in this period. In the first the chalices seem to have been short and low, and the bowls wide and shallow, and the feet circular. Such chalices have been found at Chichester, Canterbury (1205), Berwick St. James (now in the British Museum), and Lincoln (1253). They all have a slight lip. Later examples are those at Lincoln (1279), Bishop Gravesend; Salisbury (1279), Bishop Longespée; Lincoln (1279), Bishop Sutton; Exeter (1307), Bishop Bilton; Hereford (1316), Bishop Swinfield. In the second sub-division of this type the chalices were taller, and assumed a distinctly conical type. They belonged to the early fourteenth century. An example was found in the tomb of Archbishop Melton, York, 1340.

The Gothic type of chalices was characterised by hexagonal feet. The period runs from 1350 to 1510. The bowls were conical at first, and then less so. Examples have been found at Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire, and Goathland, Yorkshire. In the later part of this period the bowls were of the same conical shape, but the feet had toes. Examples have been found at West Drayton (1507) and Leominster (1510).

There are two divisions also in the Tudor type. The first has six lobed and flowing feet, and bowls often less conical as at C.C.C., Oxford. The second division had bowls nearly hemispherical and feet with flowing outline, as at Trinity College, Oxford.

The fact that the chalice and coffin which I have been describing were found near the site of the ancient hospital of St. Nicholas at Carlisle raises a strong presumption that the coffin contained the remains of some former master of the hospital. We know that the hospital had a very ancient foundation. In *Transactions*, o.s., vol. x., I have given some account of its early history, and the names of

some of its masters. It was founded and endowed for thirteen lepers; one master chaplain to reside, and sing mass at his discretion. There is nothing now to mark the hospital. Mrs. Cartmell tells me that there were some large blocks of stone in the field near the old buildings, which are now known as "Old St. Nicholas," but that these blocks were removed at the time the railway was made. At this time seven skeletons were found lying side by side, a number of broken pots, and some coins; but it is not known whether they were the remains of lepers or rebels. In the case of King Robert the Bruce, who is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Lanercost* as being a leper, the fact of his leprosy was attested by the condition of the bones of his skeleton when these were found some years ago in Dunfermline. The history of the discovery of these skeletons is worth further enquiry, but in a search of the local papers of the period no account has been found. Mrs. Cartmell also tells me that in the field above mentioned there was a well which had a great reputation, its water being considered a valuable remedy for sore legs, or sores on any part of the body. There was also a fish-pond in three divisions, separated by stone walls, with sluice doors between them, and different kinds of fish in them. The pond, which was regularly cleaned out, usually had water-lilies on its surface, and there were pollard willows at the edges and flowering rush growing on the stone walls. The fish-pond was filled up at the time the railway was made.

In connection with this chalice it may be of interest to members to recall the fact that the only known silver pre-Reformation chalice in the diocese hitherto described is the one at Old Hutton in Westmorland. It was discovered by Mrs. Ware in the course of examining the church plate of the Deanery of Kendal for publication in our *Transactions*. It is a remarkably beautiful mediæval chalice of the Gothic type, and belongs to about the middle of the fifteenth century. According to Cripps

(Old English Plate), excluding coffin chalices, there are only 33 pre-Reformation chalices known to exist; and of these two belong to the Norman type, twenty-one to the Gothic type, and ten to the Tudor type.

I have notes of three other coffin chalices which have been found in the diocese, and I hope in a subsequent paper to give some account of them; and if any others are known to exist, I shall be glad to hear of them.

ART. XIX.—*Additions to the Carlisle Museum (to the end of 1905).* By L. E. HOPE, Curator.

I.—PRE-HISTORIC. II.—ROMANO-BRITISH. III.—MEDIÆVAL. IV.—NEO-ARCHAIC OBJECTS. V.—COMMEMORATIVE MEDALS.

I.

WHEN sinking a well at Musgrave, Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, in 1904, a perforated stone hammer was found. It is oval in shape, 5¼ inches long, by 3⅝ inches broad, by 2½ inches thick, and is formed from a quartzite pebble. The shaft hole, as is usual with hammers of this type, is narrower in the centre than at the outsides.

Near the same place, during the same year, a small polished flint celt was found by a boy in a ploughed field. It is 3½ inches long, and of the ordinary type of Neolithic or early Bronze-age celt.

These two implements have been purchased by the Museum Committee.

II.

Two gold Roman coins have been acquired recently, both of which were probably local; but as they have passed through several hands, and were smuggled from some excavations, their definite history has become lost. One is an aureus of Nero, with a head of that emperor on the obverse with the inscription "NERO CÆSAR AUGUSTUS," and on the reverse "JUPPITER CUSTOS." The other is an aureus of Titus, with head of that emperor on the obverse, and the inscription, which reads from the outer edge, is "T. CÆSAR. IMP. VESPASIANUS." On the reverse is a figure of Roma seated, with two doves flying in the field, and in the exergue "COS VI."

A silver denarius of Marcus Aurelius was found in Carlisle in 1905 near to the north west wall of the Castle. The obverse has a head of Marcus, and "M AURELIUS

ANTONINUS AUG;" the reverse has a figure of Securitas and the emperor's titles, &c., "T R P XXIII IMP X COS IIII PP." A second brass coin of the same emperor, found near the same place, is interesting, having been struck during the time of his Cæsarship, before he assumed the purple. The obverse has a somewhat youthful head of Marcus, and the words "AURELIUS CÆSAR . . . .;" the reverse has a wreath, and inside "IV VEN TVS SC" in four lines.

A second brass of the "Judæa Capta" type of Vespasian, found during the excavations on the site of the Crown and Mitre Hotel, Carlisle, has also turned up.

The only lapidarian accession is a stone found at Westward, Wigton, in 1901, and mentioned in these *Transactions*, N.S., ii., p. 411. It is inscribed "COH [ORS] VIII.," in two lines. It may have been part of a building stone which has flaked off from the face when working. The cutting of the inscription looks too fresh to have been exposed to the weather in a wall. The stone is a fine red freestone, and is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches thick. It has been given by Rev. T. W. Melrose.

III.

A small stone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 3 inches in diameter at the widest part, sculptured in the form of a tassel, was found in a garden at Little Orton. It appears to have been part of a more pretentious sculpture, probably sepulchral, and may probably be from the same source as many other sculptured stones found in this neighbourhood. It is presented by the Rev. W. F. Gillbanks.

The stone coffin found in the garden of the Leper Hospital at St. Nicholas, Carlisle, in 1837 or 1838, has been presented by Miss Nairn; and the pewter chalice found inside the coffin has been presented by Mrs. Isaac Cartmell. (See pp. 293-297.)

IV.

Two or three obsolete household contrivances have been given. One is a wooden goffering frame or stand. It is

rather neatly made, and consists of a grooved frame, 14 ins. high by 10½ ins. wide, in which are held two rows of rods about ⅜ of an inch in diameter. The frilling was put into the frame when wet, zigzag between the rods, and allowed to dry in the frame. The top and one side of the frame is detachable, to allow the dry frilling for "my lady's cap" to be taken out. This frame was given by Mr. R. Greenup of Caldbeck, where it was formerly used. The same donor gives a yeoman's circular snuff-box, on the top of which are printed figures of agricultural implements in use in the early nineteenth century. The box belonged to Mr. John Greenup of Caldbeck, who was a friend and contemporary of the celebrated John Peel.

Another curious object from Bowness-on-Solway is a wooden "toast-dog" or "pricker." It consists of two uprights, 18 inches high, with feet. A board, covered by a thin sheet of iron, is held between them, and a number of spikes are driven through the board and iron plate to form the forks. This and another of the more ordinary circular-topped type are given by Mr. Joseph Toppin.

V.

A number of Jacobite commemoration medals have been purchased by the committee.

The earliest in the series is a bronze medal commemorating the birth of Prince Charles Stuart in 1720. The obverse shows the heads of the old Pretender (here called James III.) and Clementina; on the reverse is a female figure, Providence holding up an infant and pointing to a globe showing the map of Great Britain.

The next are a silver and a bronze medal struck in England in expectation of the arrival of Prince Charles in 1745. This is the medal figured on the title-page of Mounsey's *Carlisle in 1745*. The obverse has the head of Prince Charles, and the words "CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS;" on the reverse is a figure of Britannia

watching an approaching fleet, and the legend "AMOR ET SPES."

Several are commemorative of the defeat of the rebels and the reduction of Carlisle in 1745, and are already noted in these *Transactions;* and four commemorate the battle of Culloden in 1746. One of the latter is silver, and a fine example of the medallist's art, designed by R. Yeo. The obverse has a bust, in armour, of the Duke of Cumberland; and on the reverse is a figure of the duke as Hercules, delivering Britannia from Rebellion.

These are followed by a silver and a bronze example of the "Oak medal," struck in 1750 for a Jacobite Society, which met at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand. Each member, on payment of his subscription of one guinea, received a copy of the medal in copper; those who wished could have copies in gold or silver on payment of the extra cost of the metal. The medal was designed by Thomas Pingo, and the engraving of the dies cost £88 16s. These dies were found in a chapel in the south of England in the nineteenth century, and have been presented to the British Museum by Sir Charles W. Dilke. The obverse has the head of Prince Charles, probably copied from the "Amor et Spes" medal; and on the reverse is an old hollow, leafless tree, from the roots of which rises a young sapling, indicative of the decay of the Jacobite cause and its rise again in the young Prince. The inscription is "REVIRESCIT 1750."

The latest in the series is a silver medal commemorative of the visit of Prince Charles to London in 1752. Another insurrection was being planned that year, and the Prince spent three weeks in London at the house of Lady Primrose. Finding that there was no hope of a successful rising he returned to Paris, and the plot fell through. The obverse has a portrait of Prince Charles, probably copied from the "Amor et Spes" medal. The reverse is also similar, and has the legend "O DIU DESIDERATA NAVIS."

ART. XX.—*Late and Magic Runes in Cumberland.* By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Read at Darlington, September 14th, 1905.

A LETTER from Bishop Nicolson to Mr. Walker (Master of University College, Oxford) on the Bewcastle Cross runes, contains a curious passage, printed in Gibson's *Camden*, upon which perhaps more light could be thrown if the attention of our Society were directed to it.

Carlisle, Nov. 2, 1685.

I accidentally met a Gentleman in the neighbourhood who shewed me a Book of Spells and Magical Receipts, taken (two or three days before) in the Pocket of one of our *Moss-troopers;* wherein, among many other conjuring feats, was prescribed a certain Remedy for an Ague, by applying a few barbarous characters to the Body of the Party distemper'd. These, methought, were very near akin to *Wormius's* RAMRUNER, which, he says, differ'd wholly in figure and shape from the common *Runæ*. For though he tells us that these *Ramruner* were so called *Eo quod molestias, dolores, morbosque hisce infligere inimicis soliti sunt Magi;* yet his great friend Arng. Jonas, more to our purpose, says, That—*His etiam usi sunt ad benefaciendum, juvandum, medicandum tam animi quam corporis morbis; atque ad ipsos Cacodæmones pellendos et fugandos.* I shall not trouble you with a draught of this Spell, because I have not yet had an opportunity of learning whether it may not be an ordinary one, and to be met with (among others of the same nature) in *Paracelsus* or *Cornelius Agrippa*.

I owe the reference to the Rev. C. W. Whistler of Stockland, Somerset, who has since mentioned the passage in *The Sagabook of the Viking Club* (vol. iv., 1905, p. 23). "Wormius's Ramruner" alludes to Ole Worm, the Danish antiquary of the early part of the seventeenth century, who describes the use of these magic formulæ for inflicting harm upon an enemy. "Arng. Jonas" (Arngrim Jónsson, the Icelandic scholar, 1567-1648)

describes their use in healing. As *ramr* in Icelandic means "strong," especially with a suggestion of supernatural power, *ramrúnar* means "magic runes;" and indeed this was the popular idea of runes in general, until the revival of Northern scholarship in the last century gave a more accurate meaning to the word. Sir Walter Scott, who had considerable interest in Scandinavian studies, used "runic" in this vague sense; for when Norna of the Fitful Head (*The Pirate*, chap. 28) was making magic and calling on the "elemental spirit," she sang:—

> With my rhyme of Runic, I
> Thank thee for thy agency.

But in middle English, "runes" could mean simply "writing," especially in northern English. In the fourteenth century *Cursor Mundi* (line 15230) the story of the Lord's Supper is told thus:—

> The lauerd es to super sette,
> The mete al redi bun, (boun')
> Up he lift his hali hand
> And gaf the benisun.
> Than he tok the bred and brack
> Als it es redd in *run* (rune)
> Til his disciplis he it delt
> And said thaim this sarmun.

But the fifteenth century Midland copyist, not understanding that "read in rune" meant "read in Scripture," changed it to "as hit is red in toun;" and he made exactly the same mistranscription when the same word occurred a few pages later (line 15704).*

Even in the fourteenth century, however, the word carried some idea of the supernatural. In the poem which Dr. Richard Morris, the editor, calls by the title of "Cleanness" (E.E.T.S., 1864, p. 84, line 1544), the

* The references to *Cursor* and *Cleanness* are given by Prof. G. Stephens in *The Runes, whence came they?*

"Mene Tekel Upharsin" written on the wall at Belshazzar's feast is described as "runish." It is said that the king

Romyes as a rad ryth (howls as a frightened dog) that rorez for drede
Ay biholdand the honde til it had al graven
And rasped on the roz woze (rough wall) *runisch* sauez (saws).

From the poetical Edda downwards there is always this secondary idea attaching to runes as not only simple writing, but writing that could be used as a vehicle of magic. Not to multiply instances, one might refer to the saga of Egil Skallagrimsson, who once, to test for poison the drink offered by the witch-queen Gunnhild (afterwards of York), "drew his knife and pricked the palm of his hand. He took the horn, scratched runes thereon, and smeared blood in them. He spoke a verse (not a magic rhyme, but merely expressing his feelings at the moment) —and the horn burst asunder!" This event, so far as it has any historical character, is dated 923, and gives one aspect of what was supposed to be the use of runes. Another is given in the story, later on, of his healing a sick girl by taking away from her bed the piece of whalebone on which bad runes had been cut:—

Egil read them, then cut the runes and scraped them off into the fire. He burnt the whole piece of whalebone, and had the bedclothes that she had used hung out to air. Then he sang:—

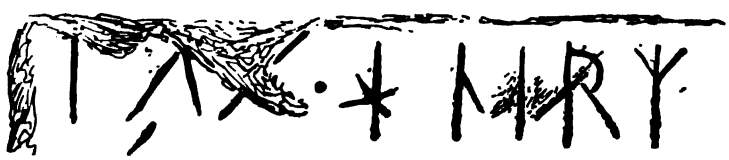
Runes none should grave ever
Who know not to use them;
Of a dark spell full many
The meaning may miss.
Ten spell-words writ wrongly
On the whalebone were graven,
And brought to the maiden
Long sorrow and pain.

Egil then graved runes and laid them under her bolster. She seemed as if she awoke out of sleep, and said she felt well, though she was weak . . .

No doubt, in the tenth century, the nursing had at least

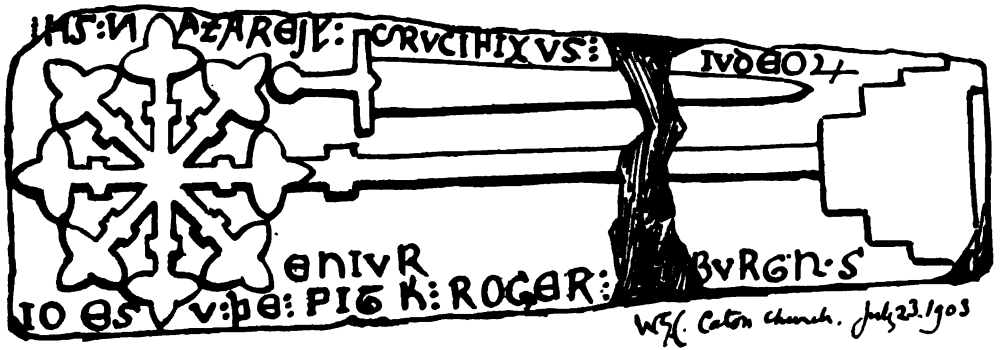
as much to do with the cure as the prescription, which may happen in the twentieth century. But the story is probably a true one.

Now what sort of words were they which people believed to contain this virtue? There is at the British Museum a magic ring found at Kingmoor, near Carlisle, in 1817 or 1818, bearing runes which seem to be a magic formula, but read like nonsense. Another ring from Lund in Sweden, worn as a preservative against epilepsy, has a runic inscription THEBAL GUTH GUTHANI . . . ., containing apparently a prayer to God (Stephens, O.N.R.M., i., p. 492). These, of course, are centuries earlier than the moss-trooper's book; but it is curious to trace the persistence of beliefs and of the use of runes. We have in the twelfth century, when the Norman Conquest might seem to have stamped out all Scandinavian character, the Dolfin runes at Carlisle Cathedral, and the Pennington tympanum, showing a strong survival of the old northern language among the people. Later in the twelfth century we have Master Richard of Durham (as it seems) inscribing runes on the Bridekirk font, and some unknown sculptor writing yet unread runes on the Adam grave-slab at Dearham:—



Stephens gave a reading, but based it on the early runes, which were quite out of date when this stone, as its ornament shows, was carved.

On the Caton "Roger de Burgh" grave-slab, we have a further stage of transition, in which runes are mixed with Norman lettering. Among other points we might notice the use of the "thorn" in spelling "the," which survives in this form "ye." Various antiquaries have attempted


IHS:N AZAREIL: CRVCIFIXVS: IVDEO4
ENIVR
IO ES V:DE: PIG K: ROGER: BVRGN·S
W.H. Caton church. July 23. 1903

a reading :—" Ihs (Jesus) Nazarenus (?) crucifixus (rex) Judeorum. Ioes (Johannes) u the Pitk (?) Roger (de) Burgh seniur."

But runes, pure and simple, long remained occasionally in use. The runic calendars of Norway and Sweden, on sticks, measuring-wands, fans and boxes, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are well known; at the Copenhagen Museum there are sixteenth century chairs from Iceland with long runic inscriptions; and Stephens has given some examples of the use of runes in Northumbria during this comparatively recent period: so that the possibility of their occurrence in a seventeenth century book in Cumberland is not to be doubted.

We can even get a hint at its magical contents from a vellum MS. at Stockholm dating from about the fourteenth century, and containing medical and other recipes. Among these is a formula for terrifying an enemy. You must write on a stick the later rune for H and the earlier rune for K. Then you must read thrice, forwards and backwards, the sentence "sprengd mans hoc," &c.—so Stephens quotes it (*The Runes*, p. 51). This formula is the well-known memorial sentence of King Waldemar :—

SPRÆNGT	MANS	HÖK	FLYTHI	DUUE	BOLL
Tossed	man's	hawk	fled	dove	bright.

That is to say, "The bright dove fled from the man's tossed hawk." Why this phrase of all others? Partly, no doubt, because it expresses what you wish your enemy to do when he feels your curse let loose upon him like a hawk from your fist; but partly because it is a sentence of curious inherent virtue. The story about it is that the Danish king Waldemar Sejr (the Victorious, 1202-1241), being interested in literature, used to talk with Olaf Hvitaskald the grammarian (died 1259, brother of the Icelandic historian and lawman Sturla Thordarson, the younger, Snorri Sturlason's nephew, 1214-1284). At that time the ordinary later runes had been found insufficient

for representing the Latin alphabet, and the language of the period: so the king and the poet increased them by what we should call diacritical marks. A dotted or "stung" T and K became D and G; I "stung" stood for E; A and O crossed were Æ and ö; P and Y were supplied. King Waldemar invented this sentence to contain all the new letters. It became famous, and in a hundred years the innocent *memoria technica* gathered such mysterious import that it was used to scare one's enemies by magic.

Most of the healing formulæ which we know are of similar harmless content, unless they are misunderstood and corrupted gibberish from the older religions. Sometimes their virtue was increased by writing them in cypher; for there were several kinds of cryptic runes in use. Anglian cryptic runes of the eighth century can be seen at Hackness on the nuns' cross; a Scandinavian specimen is in the bind-rune cross at Kirk Andreas, Isle of Man—both, as far as I know, undeciphered. And perhaps if we had Bishop Nicolson's "draught" of the mosstrooper's recipe for ague, we could not read it; but we should like to try! Mr. Hinds, who is our expert authority on the Jackson Library, tells me that it is no use searching there for any note or relic of the kind. But perhaps, if publicity is given to the question, something may turn up; which is the chief reason why these remarks are submitted to the Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

April Meeting.

THE Spring Meeting for reading papers was held at Tullie House, Carlisle, on Thursday, April 27th, 1905. Judge Steavenson presided during the earlier part of the afternoon; after the interval for tea the chair was taken by Canon Bower. There were also present the Rev. J. Whiteside, Dr. Barnes, Dr. Haswell, Colonel Sewell, Messrs. J. R. Ford, T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., and W. N. Thompson (Members of Council), the Hon. Secretaries and Editor, the Revs. J. Ewbank and A. G. Loftie, Mrs. T. H. Hodgson and Miss Hodgson, Mr. J. P. and Miss Hinds, Mrs. Richardson (Ballawray), Mr., Mrs., and Miss Todd (Harraby), Messrs. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A.Scot., J. Greenop, L. E. Hope, E. Jackson, J. R. Johnston, W. I. MacIntire, J. H. Martindale, F. Nicholson, W. N. Thompson, T. Wigham, and others.

Eight new members were elected:—Mr. T. Cann Hughes, F.S.A., Lancaster (life member); the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, per C. F. Bell, librarian, Ashmolean Museum; the Rev. Allan M. Maclean, Greystoke Rectory; Dr. Robert B. Macbean, St. Mary's Gate, Lancaster; Miss A. L. Wilson, Portland Square, Workington; Mr. John Mellor, Arnside; Mr. James R. Burnett, Scotby; Mr. James H. Braithwaite, Layer Breton, Kendal; and Mr. G. W. T. Parker, The Nook, Irthington.

It was announced that the Council had decided to hold the Annual Meeting in the Furness District on June 29 and 30, 1905, Messrs. J. R. Ford, H. Gaythorpe, and the Secretaries being elected as the Local Committee, with power to add to their number; and the second excursion in the neighbourhood of Richmond, Yorkshire.

The following papers were then taken:—"A Roman Coin from Hall Senna," by Dr. Parker, read by Dr. Barnes, with exhibition of coins (Art. VI.); "Ambleside Chapel and Town," by Miss M. L. Armitt, read by the Editor (Art. I.); "A remarkable Inquisition of 17 Edward I.," by Mr. F. H. M. Parker, read by Dr. Haswell (Art. VIII.); "Two old Deeds of the Sanderson Family" (Art. XVI.) and "Remarks on Bishop Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*" (Art. XVII.), by Mr. W. N. Thompson, illustrated with photographs; "A Stone Axe

from Moorland Close near Cockermouth," exhibited and described by Mr. Edwin Jackson (Art. V.); "A Stone Celt found at Barrow in 1904, and other implements from Furness," exhibited and described by Mr. H. Gaythorpe, F.S.A.Scot. (Art. IV.).

An interval of half-an-hour was then allowed for tea, after which the Editor read Mr. J. B. Bailey's paper on "An unpublished Roman Altar at Netherhall" (Art. VII.); Mr. L. E. Hope exhibited and described recent "Additions to Tullie House Museum" (Art. XIX.); Mr. Gaythorpe read his paper on "The Crankes of Urswick" (Art. III.); Dr. Haswell read "Notes on the Portraits of the Kirkby Family," by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., illustrated with photographs (Art. II).

The meeting broke up at six o'clock.

Annual Meeting.

On Thursday and Friday, June 29th and 30th, the Society held the Annual Meeting for 1905 in the Furness District, with head-quarters at Conishead Priory. The Local Committee already named had added to their number the Rev. Canon Ayre, whose lamented death a few days before the meeting saddened the occasion, although the arrangements already made could not be deferred. Eighty applications for tickets had been made, and among those present were the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness and Mrs. Ware, the Rev. J. R. Magrath, D.D., Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, Mr. and Mrs. J. Rawlinson Ford, Mr. T. and Miss Wilson (Kendal), Colonel Sewell, Mr. S. H. le Fleming, the Rev. Canon Hudson (Thornton, Lincs.), Mr. and Mrs. F. H. M. Parker (Fremington), Mr. and Mrs. John Somervell (Kendal), Mr. and Mrs. John F. Curwen, Dr. and Mrs. Haswell, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Cowper, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Rawnsley, Captain and Miss Farrer (Bassenthwaite), Mr., Mrs. and the Misses Petty, Miss Beevor, Mrs. and Miss Todd (Harraby), Miss Armitt, Miss Noble, Mrs. Dyson (Ulverston), Miss Harrison (Windermere), Mrs. James Richardson and Mrs. Renton, Miss Gough and Miss Macray, Miss Marston (Windermere), Mrs. W. S. Calverley, Mrs. and Miss Simpson (Grasmere), the Rev. A. Humphries and Mrs. Adams (Ulverston), Mrs. Richardson (Grasmere), Mrs. Williams (Grange), Mr. W. G. and the Misses Collingwood, the Rev. J. Ewbank, Dr. D. H. Anderson, Messrs. J. R. Atkinson (Beckermet), G. F. Braithwaite, John Coward (Ulverston), W. L. Fletcher, A. Fothergill, H. Gaythorpe, F.S.A.Scot., J. Greenop, J. Crauford Hodgson, F.S.A., N. S. Hawks, T. Cann Hughes, F.S.A., H. Penfold, H. G. Pearson, R.

Richmond, John Robinson, C.E., F. Sessions, A. Satterthwaite (Lancaster), W. N. Thompson, S. Yeates, and others.

On Thursday, June 29th, the party met at Ulverston Station at one o'clock, and started in seven carriages for the Friends' Meeting House, Swarthmoor, where Mr. Gaythorpe spoke upon the history of the place, and especially on James Goad, the schoolmaster here in 1697 (Art. XV). George Fox's bible, chair, ebony bedposts, &c., were exhibited.

Thence to Swarthmoor Hall, where Mr. J. F. Curwen, after reference to the great loss sustained by the Society in the death of Canon Ayre, whose name stood on the programme for the description of the place, read an account of the hall partly compiled from Canon Ayre's former contributions to its history, and from those of Mr. W. O. Roper, F.S.A. He noticed the fact that the party was assembled in the room where the first Quaker meetings were held, and continued for forty years. The manuscript account books of Margaret Fell were, he said, in the possession of Mr. Beardsley, and he expressed a wish that the Society might print at least a portion of the MS., and so place it permanently on record. Swarthmoor Hall, he remarked, was not architecturally very interesting; it had not been manorial, nor fortified, and perhaps was not earlier than the seventeenth century; the Abrahams had added to it in the eighteenth; but the staircase was a beautiful example of old oak, and the panelling was good. Attention was directed to the curious door leading from a bedroom upstairs out into the open air, where George Fox used to speak to the people assembled in the garden beneath.

A photograph was shown by Mr. W. L. Fletcher of George Fox's bed (see opposite page 261), now in his possession, and removed from the Hall for its greater safety. Mr. S. H. le Fleming exhibited a paper from the Rydal Hall documents, containing the Twenty-one Articles of the Society of Friends, and supposed to be in the handwriting of George Fox. In reply to a question by Mr. H. S. Cowper as to the origin of the Fells of Hawkswell, it was suggested that their home must have been the Hawkswell three miles north of Ulverston.

Before leaving Swarthmoor, where the kindness of the residents enabled the large party to see thoroughly all over the house, the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness spoke of the great loss which was felt in the death of Canon Ayre, and said that he wished to associate himself with the regret and sympathy expressed by Mr. Curwen.

At Loppergarth, Pennington, Dr. T. K. Fell was to have described the runic tympanum discovered in 1902 (see these *Transactions*, N.S., iii., art. xxiv.). In Dr. Fell's absence, the relic

was described by the Editor. In discussion as to the better preservation of this unique monument, the Rev. T. Edge Wright, vicar of Pennington, said that he understood it had been given by Mr. J. Fell, the owner, to the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club.

Some of the party then walked up to the Castle Hill, while others visited the Ellabarrow, upon which Mr. H. S. Cowper, who has described both sites in *Archæologia*, vol. liii., kindly supplies the following notes:—

PENNINGTON CASTLE HILL.

Pennington Castle Hill is an interesting little earthwork about two miles west of Ulverston, and situated just about the place where the Furness Fells drop down to meet Low or Plain Furness. It is therefore fairly close to the ancient road which came oversands from Cartmel to Sandside, and crossed through Low Furness into South Cumberland.

The situation is rather striking, being on the edge of Pennington Beck, which here runs in a deep ravine; and the makers of the Castle Hill have chosen a sharp elbow of cliff on the east bank, isolating it for defensive purposes by a semi-circular ditch and rampart, which thus took in a quadrant shaped area. The ward thus formed measures 156 feet by 132 feet, and the ditch is about 45 feet wide measured from the rampart top to the outer edge. As the site slopes to the south, and the ditch is about the same depth all round, its level at the south is lower than at the north, and it has, of course, never been meant to hold water. The rampart on the north is now perhaps twelve feet above the ward level, and there is only one entrance through it, that on the south-east, which is probably ancient.

At the present time there are no foundations of masonry visible, and there are no signs of a parapet wall on the edge of the cliff; but it could not be definitely asserted without examination by the spade that nothing of the sort ever existed. Probably, however, in a small fortress of this type, palisading would be largely used. Nor is it wise to make any dogmatic assertion with regard to the date. It should be noticed that Pennington is an Anglian name, and that it occurs in *Domesday*. The manor seems to have always belonged to the Penningtons (now of Muncaster), and as late as 1318, Sir William Pennington had a "capital messuage" here; so that as far as history goes, the Castle Hill might be either an Anglian earthwork, a minor stronghold of Norman date, or an early mediæval fortified house. It may be observed that while there is some likeness between it and the "mound and court" type of earthwork, which are now being reconsidered by antiquaries (see these

Transactions, N.S., vol. v., p. 291), it is certainly not a typical example of that type.

Half a mile south-east in a field, once and perhaps still called Ella-barrow, is the big tumulus Coninger Wood, in shape like an inverted vessel, 400 feet in circumference, and about 50 feet measured up the slope facing the stream. Coninger may be Coning or Cyning-garth, while Ellabarrow seems to actually contain the name of the person interred in the barrow. It is the only mound of this character in Furness, and may well contain the clue not only to its own origin, but to that of the Castle Hill.

In Urswick Church the Rev. T. N. Postlethwaite, vicar, welcomed the Society, and read a paper on the church (Art. XIII.).

Mr. Gaythorpe added some remarks on the bell and on the supposed Curwen arms in the chancel window (see page 203), which Mr. J. F. Curwen said was not any known Curwen coat. Mr. H. G. Pearson pointed out a monument to Thomas Gardner, formerly of the 1st Life Guards, and drill-sergeant to the Furness Cuirassiers, 1821. It is to be hoped that further information may be forthcoming about this corps.

The members then walked to the vicarage, where Mr. Postlethwaite had generously provided tea for a hundred; after which the President proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the vicar of Urswick for his paper and for his hospitality.

At Urswick Stone Walls, Mr. John Dobson, schoolmaster of Little Urswick, showed his plan of the remains and described them. Mr. H. S. Cowper, whose description and plan are to be found in *Archæologia*, vol. liii., complimented Mr. Dobson on his work, and said he hoped further and thorough investigations would be made.

On returning to the vicarage it was decided to omit the visit intended to Bardsea Hall, where Mr. Curwen was to have read a paper (Art. XI.) The omission was much regretted, but the afternoon was drawing to a close, and the great size of the party made it impossible to move on as briskly as usual. The carriages were taken for the drive to Conishead, which was reached in good time, the weather, after a hot morning, being still fine, in spite of threatening clouds in the distance.

A large company sat down to dinner at the Conishead Priory Hydropathic, the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness (President) in the chair; after which the Council meeting and the general meeting for business were held. An adjourned meeting of the Council was held next morning. It was decided that a meeting should be held at Richmond on September 14th and 15th. Progress was reported in the arrangements for the transcription of the Carlisle Episcopal

Registers, and the sum of £25 was voted for the purchase of 100 copies of Part. I. A sub-committee of Messrs. H. S. Cowper, H. Gaythorpe, and W. G. Collingwood was appointed to explore Urswick Stone Walls (with permission from the owners and tenants of the ground), and to spend a sum not exceeding £5 in excavation. The proposal to extend the Society's working into the parts of North Lonsdale not covered by the diocese of Carlisle was considered, and a committee consisting of Messrs. W. O. Roper, W. Farrer, J. Rawlinson Ford, and J. F. Curwen was appointed to communicate with the existing antiquarian societies of Lancashire, and to ascertain how far such action of the Society might be desirable.

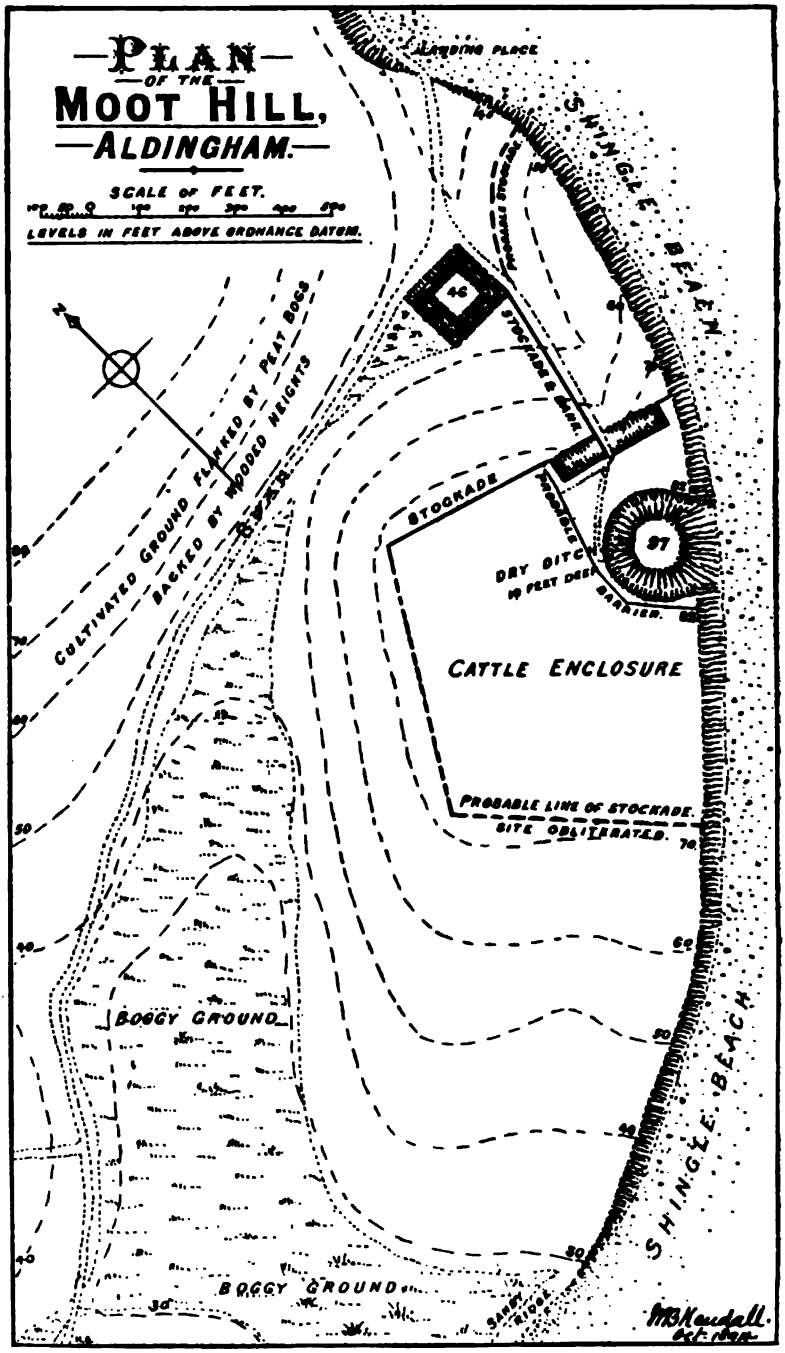
At the annual general meeting of the Society, the President in the chair, the officers were re-elected with the addition of the Rev. J. R. Magrath, D.D., Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, Colonel Sewell, and Mr. E. T. Tyson to the list of vice-presidents; and Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A.Scot., and Major Spencer C. Ferguson to the Council. Mr. Edward Wilson was elected assistant secretary. The following new members were elected:—Dr. Philip L. Booth, Vickerstown; Mr. Charles P. Chambers, Broughton-in-Furness; Mr. Theodore deRome, Kendal; Mr. Henry Brierley (hon. sec. of the Lancashire Parish Registers Society), Thornhill, Wigan; Mr. John Robert Nuttall, Thornfield, Lancaster; Mr. Alexander Pearson, Lune Cottage, Kirkby Lonsdale; the Rev. E. H. Cock, Wetheral; Miss Brown, Sweden How, Ambleside; the Rev. T. W. Fair, M.A., Eskdale Vicarage; Major-General R. W. Dawson Scott, Brent House, Penrith; Mr. N. H. Arnison, Penrith; the Rev. John W. Locker, Dolphinholme Vicarage, Lancaster; Mr. John B. Thompson, Barwickstead, Beckermet; Mrs. Fowkes, Waterside, Hawkshead; and Mrs. Holderness, Springfield, Ulverston.

The minutes of the last Council meeting were read, and a statement of accounts was presented.

A paper on "A Stone Coffin and Chalice found at St. Leonard's Hospital, Carlisle" (Art. XVIII.), by Dr. Barnes, was read by the Editor, and rubbings illustrating details of places visited during the excursion were exhibited by Mr. Gaythorpe.

On Friday, June 30th, a visit was made to the hermitage and cave described by Mr. J. F. Curwen in these *Transactions*, iii., N.S., art. iv.; but nothing definite was found to confirm the suggestion that they were older than the time of Colonel Braddyll, early in the nineteenth century.

The carriages started at 10-5, on a bright and breezy morning, and after a fine drive by the seashore Aldingham Church was reached, where the Rev. Dr. Wall, rector of Aldingham, welcomed the party, and Mr. Gaythorpe described the church.


PLAN
OF THE
MOOT HILL,
ALDINGHAM.
SCALE OF FEET.
LEVELS IN FEET ABOVE ORDNANCE DATUM.
LANDING PLACE
SHINGLE BEACH
46
STOCKADE & BANK
STOCKADE
PROBABLE BARRIER.
97
DRY DITCH
10 FEET DEEP
CATTLE ENCLOSURE
PROBABLE LINE OF STOCKADE.
SITE OBLITERATED.
CULTIVATED GROUND FLANKED BY PEAT BOGS
BACKED BY WOODED HEIGHTS
BOGGY GROUND
BOGGY GROUND
SHINGLE BEACH
SANDY RIDGE
M.B. Kendall.
Oct. 1894

At Aldingham Mote the party inspected the ancient square ditch at the farm, and walked up to the top of the Motehill, probably the early Norman residence of the Flemings, where Mr. Gaythorpe read a summary of what had been written on the subject by Chancellor Ferguson in these *Transactions*, vol. ix., art. 28, as well as the report of the meeting of the Barrow Naturalists at the site in 1900 (*Furness Lore*, pp. 119, 120). Mr. Collingwood said that as his name was mentioned in the latter article, he felt bound to dissociate himself with the views expressed in it; he did not attribute the Motehill to the Vikings. By the kindness of Mr. Gaythorpe, the excellent plan of the Motehill by Mr. W. B. Kendall, C.E., was distributed to the party, and is here reproduced.

The drive was then continued through Scales to Gleaston Castle, where Mr. Gaythorpe read a paper by Mr. W. B. Kendall, C.E., on the site (Art. XII., see also *Furness Lore*, pp. 96-98, and Mr. H. S. Cowper's paper in these *Transactions*, xiii., art. iv.) The President proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Gaythorpe for this and other services which had contributed so greatly to the success of the excursion, and it was very heartily accorded.

At Stainton Hall, the chair of Wonderful Walker and other curiosities in this interesting and quaint old house were shown by Mrs. Bolton, to whom the thanks of the Society were tendered; and a final stage of the journey brought the party to Furness Abbey. After luncheon, the well-known ruins were once more perambulated, under the guidance of Mr. Jesse Turner, by those who had not been obliged to leave by the 2-38 train in the direction of Whitehaven.

September Meeting.

The second excursion of the year was taken on Thursday and Friday, September 14th and 15th, 1905, in the Teesdale and Richmond district. Messrs. J. Rawlinson Ford, William Brown, F.S.A., J. F. Curwen, F.S.A., and Titus Wilson made the arrangements for the meeting, which was largely attended and, favoured by the weather, most successfully carried out. Among those who applied for tickets were the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness (2), Colonel Sewell (2), Messrs. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A. (3), J. Rawlinson Ford (3), F. H. M. Parker (2), J. F. Curwen, F.S.A., Titus Wilson, W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., Dr. Barnes, Dr. Haswell (2), Canon Bower, Canon Trench (2), Canon Hudson, the Rev. J. K. Floyer, F.S.A. (2), the Rev. T. Heelis (2), the Rev. A. J. Heelis, the Rev. J. Ewbank, Mrs. Carrick (2), Miss Ullock (2), Mrs. Williams, Miss

Armitt, Mrs. Todd (3), Miss Noble (2), Mrs. Dyson, Miss C. L. Wilson, Miss Gough (2), Mrs. Metcalfe-Gibson (2), Mrs. Holt (2), Miss Farrer (3), Messrs. R. A. Allison (4), Edwin Jackson (2), T. S. Ritson (2), T. Cann Hughes, F.S.A. (2), J. H. Martindale (2), S. H. Scott (2), S. L. Petty (3), Harvey Goodwin, Joseph Cartmell (2), J. Procter Watson (2), W. Brown, F.S.A., W. I. R. Crowder, Joseph Parkinson, C. E. Robinson, J. C. Hodgson, F.S.A.; and the party was joined by Messrs. W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., H. Brakspear, F.S.A., W. T. McIntire, A. B. Clarke, and others.

On Thursday, September 14th, the members and their friends, to the number of over eighty, met at Bowes Station and walked to the castle, where they were welcomed by the Rev. E. I. Frost, vicar. The following is an abstract of his remarks:—

BOWES CASTLE.

The old tradition of the origin of this castle is that it was built by Alan Niger, first earl of Brittany and Richmond, who placed here his cousin William with 500 archers to defend it against insurgents in Cumberland and Westmorland, confederated with the Scots, giving him for the device of his standard the arms of Brittany with three bows and a bundle of arrows, from which both castle and commander derived their names—the former being called Bowe Castle and the latter William de Arcubus. Unfortunately for this tradition, crests and coats of arms were not in use at the period, and it appears that the name of Bowes is earlier than the castle; for Osbert, son of Fulco de Boges, was one of the King's Commissioners for superintending the building, which was begun in 1171 and completed in 1187 at a cost of £353, probably under Torphin and Warin de Scackergill, with Osbert as commissioner of Henry II. It was then known as the King's Tower de Boges. In 1206, and again in 1212, it was visited by King John, and in 1242 Boghes Castle was granted by Henry III. to Peter de Savoy. In the reign of Edward I., William de Felton was put in charge of the castle for the King; as this was in 1291, it seems clear that the appointment was in some way connected with Scottish affairs, and during the troublous times from 1200 to 1350 the fortress must have played an important part as being, together with Barnard Castle, the chief defence against an attack by way of Stainmoor. There is no account of its demolition; it probably went slowly to decay when the time of its use had passed. Its present owner is Lady Cowell.

Though it is called a castle in all records, it is merely a large keep; no masonry was bonded into the existing walls, and there are no traces of foundations to show that the building was more extensive than at present. It has been described in Clark's

Mediæval Military Architecture. Externally, the ruins measure 50 feet in height, and 82 feet from east to west by 60 feet broad; each angle is capped by a flat pilaster, and there is also a pilaster nearly nine feet broad at the centre of each face. There were three storeys. The basement, on the ground level, has walls 11 to 12 feet thick, and was sub-divided by two walls into three rooms, of which that on the west measures 37 by 16 feet and was vaulted; the corbels at the angles can be seen, also a jamb of the door between the south and west rooms. All these rooms were lighted by loops in stepped and splayed recesses. There are four large vaulted mural chambers; the first, lighted by a loop in the outer wall, is to the south of the doorway, and is entered by the passage from it; the second, to north of the doorway, was entered from the eastern room, and has a fireplace; the third, lighted by two loops, is approached by a passage 33 feet long from the eastern room, and has a small chamber of eight by four feet at the south-west angle; and the fourth mural chamber, in the west wall, opened from the smaller room by a doorway now broken down, which led to a passage 19 feet long. The only approach to the basement was from the upper floor, by a staircase in the south-east angle, which went from basement to roof. The first or main floor was in two chambers, of which the western was about 37 by 16 feet, and the eastern about 40 by 37 feet internally. This floor was ceiled with timber and lighted by three windows, one in each of the north, south, and west walls. These windows are eight feet wide, with flat-sided and round-headed recesses. The main and only entrance to the tower was in this floor, a doorway with a plain rounded arch of 5 feet 4 inches opening, which led directly to the east chamber by a passage six feet broad; there was no portcullis. The upper floor is entirely in ruins, but appearances seem to favour a low-pitched roof. On the west and south the castle was protected by a ditch, 40 to 70 feet distant, which may have continued all round.

The party then walked to the site of the Roman camp adjoining the castle, where the Rev. E. I. Frost said no doubt this was the Lavatrae of the *Notitia*, though the inscribed altars from which much information could be gleaned had been removed and were lost. Three different cohorts had been stated to have been in camp here—the first cohort of Thracians, A.D. 200; the fourth of Frisians, A.D. 120; and the cavalry cohort of Vettones. Of the first two there was good proof, for Camden described an altar now lost as naming the fourth cohort of Frisians at Lavatrae under Hadrian, 117-138; while Horsley saw at Appleby an altar found at Bowes mentioning the Thracians. Another altar discovered at Bowes was said to have been removed to Connington by Sir Richard Cotton. It bore the

inscription "DEAE . FORTVNAE . VIRIVS . LVPVS . LEG . AVG . PR . PR . BALINEVM . VI . IGNIS . EXVSTVM . COH . I . THRACVM . RESTITVIT . CVRANTE . VAL . FRONTONE . PRAEF . EQ . ALAE . VETTO(num)." Virius Lupus was governor about 196-202, but the Vettones were stationed at Binchester, 21 miles distant. It would seem that Valerius Fronto was engaged to superintend the restoration of the bath, perhaps the one now excavated, though his company of Vettones were not brought to Bowes. In the time of the *Notitia* (about A.D. 400) the garrison consisted of a "numerus exploratorum" under a præfectus. An aqueduct, probably Roman, to bring water from the Levy pool, was discovered some years ago; also eighteen or twenty coins of Nero, Vespasian, Faustina, Severus and Antoninus Pius, with sandals, bricks and Samian ware; and in January, 1850, six gold rings, weighing a little over 19 oz., were found at a little distance from the site, and were sold to the Duke of Northumberland. In the church there are two Roman altars, but little could be made of them; also a circular stone, perhaps an unfinished millstone, made out of a Roman inscribed slab, with the letters:—

VS AE VS
IITIL I A
CO RAEF
FECIT

It may be added that a fuller account of the Roman remains has been printed by Mr. J. B. Bailey of Maryport in the *Teesdale Mercury*, June, 1899.

At Bowes Church, Mr. Collingwood pointed out the crucifix over the south door, the Norman doors, two piscinas, and the fragment of interlaced work outside the north transept. This last, he said, was not pre-Norman, but similar to a floriated cross-slab of the fourteenth century at Barnard Castle. The two fonts he did not regard as "Saxon," but as twelfth century work; and suggested that the more elaborate one was the original Norman font, of which the bowl had been broken, possibly in the invasion of 1174 when the Scots, though they turned back to Carlisle after taking Burgh-under-Stainmoor, had ravaged the country far and wide. The ruder bowl might have been made to replace the broken one, which was found about fifty years ago, and set up on a Roman altar as pedestal.

The Rev. E. I. Frost said that the church was dedicated to St. Giles, and was a cruciform structure dating from the Norman era. In 1404 money was left for a new porch; in 1662 the church was restored, and in 1694 there were further repairs. In 1865 it was

almost rebuilt at a cost of £1,500, together with the proceeds of the sale of the old leaden roof. The communion plate was over 400 year old; the registers date back to the seventeenth century.

On the motion of the President, a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Rev. E. I. Frost for his kind services.

Some of the party visited the house of Mr. Fothergill, and were shown specimens of Roman and Romano-British pottery with bones and nails lately found at Bowes; and the drive was continued to Rokeby, where the Rev. D. Lamplugh described the Roman altars (see Mr. J. B. Bailey's paper in these *Transactions* v., N.S., art. x.), and the fine sunshine enabled members to verify Mr. Bailey's new readings of the inscriptions. Mrs. J. J. Bell Irving kindly showed Rokeby Hall and its art-treasures. The President offered the Society's thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Bell Irving for their courteous permission to view the Hall, and to the Rev. D. Lamplugh for his description of the altars; and the party walked through the famous scenery of the Greta ravine to Mortham Tower, and thence, by way of Scott's cave and the tomb and sculptures from Eggleston in the park, to the Morritt Arms, Greta Bridge. After tea, the Roman camp was inspected, with its great double ditch, distinct on the south-west side, and still traceable in the hotel garden.

At Wycliffe Church, in the absence of the rector, the Rev. R. W. Armstrong, who was prevented through illness from meeting the party, Mr. Collingwood briefly pointed out the chief features of interest, and described at further length the valuable collection of pre-Norman stones, which point to an important church on this site perhaps so early as the eighth century. These will be figured and discussed in a forthcoming number of the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal.*

Winston Station was reached in good time for the train to Darlington, where the party dined together at the King's Head Hotel, the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness in the chair.

At a Council meeting after dinner, progress was reported in the transcription of the Carlisle Episcopal Registers, and in the arrangements for excavation and survey of Urswick Stone Walls. A sub-committee consisting of the Rev. Canon Bower, Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., and Major Ferguson was appointed to prepare for the decennial pilgrimage of the Roman Wall in 1906. Canon Bower and Messrs. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., and W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., were appointed a sub-committee to consider the means for transcribing and printing Parish Registers in the diocese of Carlisle. In consequence of the difficulty found by the Secretary in arranging excursions, when members who have bespoken rooms are unable to occupy them and the cost falls upon the Society, it was resolved

that in future all orders for rooms, places on carriages, &c., shall make the member signing them liable to payment, and that a statement to this effect shall be printed in the circular giving notice of the meetings.

At the general meeting six new members were elected:—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle (who by Rule V. becomes on election a patron of the Society); Miss A. Williamson, Cockermouth; Mr. E. G. Hobley, Penrith; Mr. C. W. Ruston Harrison, Stanwix; Mr. A. W. Simpson, Kendal; and Mr. Robert Robinson, C.E., Darlington.

The following papers were submitted:—"Inglewood Forest," by Mr. F. H. M. Parker (Art. IX); "The connection of a Kendal family with Rokeby," by Mr. John Robinson, M.Inst.C.E., read in the absence of the author by Canon Bower (Art. X.); "Late and Magic Runes in Cumberland," by the Editor (Art. XX.); "An Index to the Heraldry of Cumberland and Westmorland," by Mr. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A. (Art. XIV.).

There were also exhibited drawings of a stone celt by Mr. J. A. Barnes, and an old printed book with MS. list of Broughton-in-Furness taxpayers in 1730, shown by Mrs. Dyson. These are further described in the Addenda to this volume.

Friday, September 15th, opened with brilliant weather, and the 9-23 train was taken to Richmond, where the party walked up to the castle. Mr. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A., gave a very lucid and interesting account of the architectural history of the remains.

RICHMOND CASTLE.

When Earl Edwin, the Saxon lord, was done to death in 1070, the Conqueror granted all his lands to Alan Rufus, Earl of Bretagne, his nephew and favourite. It was a worthy jarldom consisting, as we are told in the Recapitulation of *Domesday Book*, of 199 manors in his castlery together with 43 manors outside *(Domesday Book*, i., 381a, 2). Worthy, but inhabited by a people bred in warfare, who proved very turbulent in their territory of hills and dales. Therefore, Alan finding Edwin's aula at Gilling not strong enough to withstand them, chose out this wonderful rock rising 130 feet almost perpendicularly from the bed of the river Swale, and began to build a fortress according to the Norman plan of building *(Dodsworth MSS.)*. And by virtue of his rank as count, his newly acquired territories were styled a county, under the name of Richmondshire.

Began to build, guide-book writers will tell you that he built the castle, but I can find, with the exception of the great curtain wall, no part of these ruins that at all resembles the work of the

Early Normans. A castle of this size, whose walls were of such a thickness, requiring a vast quantity of material, the power of collecting them together, and almost superhuman labour, could not have been completed in one, two, or even three short generations, especially when we consider that the barons were almost constantly engaged in warfare. It must also be remembered that, with very few exceptions, the Normans in England did not build at first their castles of stone, but of wood. They were small in area, quickly and cheaply constructed, and placed in defensible positions. They were raised up on mottes,* and surrounded by a ditch crowned by a wooden palisade; whilst without were broad outer and inner bailies, not paved, but sown with grass to nourish the sheep and cattle which might be driven in on sign of danger. Moreover, every existing detail of window, door, or corbel points either to a late Norman period, some 60 to a 100 years, or to a Decorated period some 300 years later.

Alan Rufus, who died in 1089, may have built the strong defensive curtain wall, some nine feet thick, of limestone rubble, finding stone on the rocky site easier to procure than earth and timber; but granting such, my strong opinion is that he would only have wooden houses and leaning sheds for himself and his men-at-arms built up against it on the inner side. Doubtless the wall was embattled and strengthened at intervals with lofty square towers by his brothers, Alan the Niger, and especially by Stephen, who died in 1137; but the keystone to the whole, the stupendous keep, was certainly not erected before the time of Stephen's grandson Conan, who was in possession of the castle from 1148 to the time of his death in 1171.

Henry II., who kept the castle in his hands after the death of Conan, according to the *Pipe Rolls*, spent £51 11s. 3d. in 1171 on "operationes domorum et turris," and again £30 6s. 0d. in 1174 on "operationes castelli et domorum." Although at the present time no motte is to be seen, the general ground plan is exactly like what one would expect to find in a motte and bailey castle. It is therefore quite reasonable to suppose that here the motte was levelled to the ground when the present stone keep was built upon the site of the earlier tower, just as at Chepstow and Gloucester the mottes were levelled down and transformed into barbicans. If this is so,

* A word of Norman-French origin, the difference between a Norman *motte* and a Saxon *burh* being that the former only is found surrounded by a ditch. "The Mottes in Norman Scotland" by Geo. Neilson, in the *Scottish Review* for 1898; also "Anglo-Saxon Burhs and Early Norman Castles" by Mrs. E. Armitage, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxxiv.; also another article in the *English Historical Review*, no. lxxiv; also "The Castles of the Conquest" by J. H. Round, in *Archæologia*, vol. lviii.

the motte stood at the only point of the fortress which was not sufficiently protected by nature, where a narrow neck connects the rock with a gentler slope upon which the town now stands. And here to-day the majestic keep still stands one hundred feet high, whose walls from their extraordinary thickness, ten to twelve feet, have braved the united attacks of both time and weather.

As was usual, the basement, measuring internally 32 by 21 feet, has no external entrance or even loop-hole for light, and it would appear from the jambs of the great archway, as also by the position of the bolt-holes, that the tower was built up to and against what was once the original main entrance in the curtain wall. Beneath the paved floor there is the necessary well to supply the garrison with water when besieged. Originally the floor above was of wood, supported on heavy oaken beams; for it must be remembered that the Normans could not build a vault across a larger span than twenty feet. Some writers fall into error when they point to the present central octagonal column and circular groined arches of the roof of this chamber as being a part of the original work; clearly they are of the Decorated period, and were built about the year 1350 to take the place of the wooden floor which had probably been destroyed.

In the same way the little circular stair that now projects out in the south-west corner is of this later date, a curious example of the conversion of the basement of a Norman keep into a late Decorated chamber. The first floor of Brougham Castle has undergone a similar change. Originally the only entrance to the state-room or main hall was through the square-headed Norman doorway, of moderate size, situated in the rebated angle of the tower. It was flanked by detached columns, now gone, which supported a round-headed recessed arch, and was entered from the ramparts of the curtain wall.

MAIN HALL.—The main hall is lighted by three windows looking outwardly towards the town. Their circular arches, resting upon round detached columns with Norman capitals, appear to be a part of the original structure; but their comparatively large size on this, the most assailable side, is more than I can understand, especially as they are not splayed within for defensive purposes. The floor contains no fireplace, nor is any found in any part of the keep. In the south-west corner there is a small retiring room, and, as I have said before, the column in the centre is a later addition built off the one beneath.

SLEEPING CHAMBER.—From this hall a stairway in the thickness of the south wall leads upwards, past two loop-holes, to what has evidently been a doorway out on to the roof of the forebuilding which covered the large arch. Such a door is seen at Brougham

and Scarborough. The staircase terminates in a doorway which opens into the sleeping chamber, which is lighted by three windows, two at the east and one at the west end, placed high up in the walls. Beneath these windows at either end there are two narrow and long chambers built in the thickness of the walls and provided with loop-holes, presumably where the lord and his hearthmen huddled together in sleep apart from the rest of the soldiers.

Concerning these mural chambers, it is perhaps as well to note that the Normans never built their walls, which appear to us so thick, solid. In reality they built an inner wall and an outer shell, leaving a wide cavity between. They then selected and vaulted over what passages and chambers they required, and subsequently filled in the remaining spaces with solid concrete, which firmly bound the two thicknesses of wall together.

GUARD ROOM.—From here another mural stairway runs up in the southern wall and past four loop-holes to the guard room, whose walls are pierced by a number of loop-holes looking towards the town. Another stair, this time built in the thickness of the western wall, leads upward to the roof and battlements. The upper parts of the keep were repaired in 1761.

ROBIN HOOD'S TOWER.—Passing along the curtain wall on the eastern side, we come first to Robin Hood's Tower projecting some ten feet outwards. In the basement there is a small chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, who was worshipped in Normandy as early as 1067.* Entering by a low narrow doorway, some three feet below the general surface, you step into this tiny oratory, some 13 feet by 10 feet wide, and only six feet to the spring of the vaulted ceiling. The east window from the outside appears only as a long narrow loop-hole, but within it is so splayed out as to be wide enough to receive a stone altar. On either side is a credence table and piscina recessed into the jambs of the window, whilst above them are two most curious circular niches, but for what purpose it is hard to determine. The walls are divided by pilasters into twelve recessed seats, five on either side and two at the west end. Former writers say that, in their day, there was evidence of the walls above having been decorated with figures in red paint.

The rooms above were doubtless the apartments of the priest, who in those days was a necessary appendage to a nobleman's establishment, not merely in his religious character, but more as the "clericus" or penman, who could boast of an intimate acquaintance with the awful mysteries of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

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* *Ordericus*, ii., 178.

In following along the wall some low doorways will be noticed leading either by mural staircases to the battlements and towers or else to gard-robe L-shaped passages made in the thickness of the wall, from which narrow drains led down through loop-holes at the plinth level. The doorways are all of very rude construction, and the passages are not vaulted, but covered in with inclined slabs of stone.

We now come to the south-east corner of the main ward, where, no doubt, there were originally three defensive towers, known by the names of the knights who held these positions of command, and wherein they resided. On the outside of the walls there is a range of square beam holes for the support of a timber balcony to further protect this important quarter. Here is a great sally port, wide enough for cavalry to enter the cockpit or outer baily, and it would seem likely that here also there would be some domestic apartments in this angle—a range of low buildings protected by the great curtain.

Beyond this we cannot picture the early appearance of this corner. For in the year 1156 Earl Alan, the then lord, was a supporter of Stephen against the Empress Maud, and it is known that King Henry II., to reduce the great power of those barons who were against him in his wars with Stephen, commanded that all their castles should be dismantled and destroyed. King John also issued an order, June 30th, 1216, that the castle of Richmond should be destroyed and the buildings levelled to the ground. Again, in the year 1342, a judicial enquiry made on the oaths of twelve "good and lawful men" informs us that the castle was completely out of repair, and was "worth no-pounds a year."

Notwithstanding which Clarkson, in his *History of Richmondshire*, and all guide-book writers that have followed him, will tell us to look upon these present buildings as the work of the Early Normans, and that the fine Scolland's Hall is the actual apartment occupied by Scolland himself, lord of Bedale, in 1089. But with all due deference, surely, it is no such thing. As antiquaries we are bound to consider not only architectural periods, but also history, which cannot be divorced from archæology in an enquiry of this kind. Moreover, a stone hall of such an early date is a very rare thing to find anywhere. It is true that on the outside there is evidence of herring-bone work which has led Mr. Clark and others to believe that the walls were of the Conqueror's reign, but a careful scrutiny will reveal that this herring-bone work is all in small patches, and such work was commonly used for repairs at all periods of mediæval building. Therefore we are forced to realise that here is a large range of buildings containing a banqueting hall, numerous and

spacious withdrawing rooms, bedrooms, and an adjoining chapel, and that these buildings have been built up, probably in the fourteenth century by John o' Gaunt, *upon the site of Scolland's Tower* and the other Early Norman work, some of whose materials and mouldings were preserved and rebuilt in again. I would especially draw attention to the windows. Those on the side walls of Scolland's Hall are grouped into couplets, a formation which the Early Normans never used; those on the west wall are grouped into an uneven triplet, a formation which came in with the Early English period; whilst those in the chapel and withdrawing rooms are clearly of the Decorated period.

By this time noblemen were no longer content to live in the common apartment, with its rush-strewn floor. A century earlier the last Crusaders had brought back with them experiences of domestic luxuries, of Damascus carpets and rugs; but still stronger had been the influence of the great French war. A stream of returning knights and of unransomed French noblemen had been for years pouring in to England, every one of whom exerted an influence in the direction of greater domestic refinement; while shiploads of French furniture from Calais, Rouen, and other plundered towns had supplied our artisans with models on which to shape their work. So here at Richmond this fine Scolland's Hall was erected, 72 feet in length by 27 feet in width, with all the coveted rooms for privacy adjoining. It was approached by a flight of stone steps from the courtyard, which led up to the western or lower end. The floor was supported by twenty-two long beams let into the south and north walls. It was lighted by five windows to the south and four to the north, all of which are coupled round-headed lights. It will, however, be at once noticed that those at the dais or eastern end are much larger and finer than the rest. The open timber roof was supported on a beautiful row of arched corbels, some of which still remain. There is no evidence of any fireplace, and this is curious as, the floor being wooden, there could scarcely have been a fire in the centre of the hall. At the western end there appear to have been three doorways below the triple light window, which led to the kitchen, of which only the old refuse spout remains, and another which communicated by a spiral staircase to the roof. From off the dais doors led backward into the lady's boudoir, a chamber measuring 32 feet by 15 feet, and beyond this again to the north is another withdrawing room, measuring 40 by 20 feet. But the presence here of chimneys carried up through the walls again tell the tale of fourteenth century construction. So also does the doorway still to be seen in the "Golden Tower" behind, which is lintelled over by a Carnarvon arch. This tower has evidently been

used as a staircase tower to communicate with the lord's bedrooms above.

CHAPEL.—Adjoining, but further northward, on the same level was the private chapel, measuring 21 by 13 feet, which is easily detected by means of a trefoil piscina, near to which is a small slanting orifice, which was probably used for the confessional, where the person "doing his shrift" might unbosom his failings without being seen by the priest within the chapel. Seeing that the chapel was private and domestic, I cannot agree with the opinion expressed by most writers that this was a hagioscope. As the east wall was formed by the great curtain, the main windows looked westward into the court, and here a portion of the jambs still remain.

DE BURGH TOWER.—In the south-west corner, standing at the edge of the cliff, is the De Burgh Tower, the lower portion of which has probably been used as a dungeon, as there is no sign of any loop-hole for the admission of either light or air.

Returning towards the keep we come to a large opening, the arch of which is nearly semi-circular, and which may probably have been connected with the garrison chapel, which is known to have been situated about here. This chapel was founded in 1278 by Earl John, and services were performed there by six chaplains supplied from Eggleston Abbey.

After seeing all parts of the castle, by kind permission of the commandant and with courteous guidance from the quartermaster, an hour was left for the exploration of the town. Most of the party visited Holy Trinity Church, Greyfriars Tower, and the Parish Church, though no special descriptions were given. An afternoon of warm September sunshine was devoted to Easby, where Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., assistant secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of London, gave a most interesting account of the ruins, which he had excavated in 1886, and described in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, x., 117. At the end of the perambulation, which closed at the gatehouse, the President moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Hope, expressing appreciation of the privilege in being guided by the greatest living authority on the subject, whose excellent work for the Society at Furness Abbey was gratefully remembered. Mr. J. F. Curwen proposed the Society's thanks to Mr. T. Spencer, of Richmond, who had greatly assisted in the arrangements for the visit; and the President added the thanks of the party to Mr. Curwen and the committee who had done much to make the excursion so eminently successful.

There still remained Easby Church to visit, which was described by the Rev. R. B. Nesbit; a pre-Norman foundation, of which relics

remain in fragments of a very beautiful Anglian cross, some of them built into the walls, and one in possession of Mr. Jaques of Easby; a Norman building, of which the elaborate font and the round-headed chancel windows remain, while the greater part of the structure is Early English, restored in the last century by Sir Gilbert Scott, but still making a most picturesque effect in its charming site, and containing many monuments of interest. Among these are the wall paintings of the chancel, dating from the middle of the thirteenth century (but restored in the nineteenth), representing the history of the Fall and the Redemption, with figures of archbishops and the seasons of the year; also on the east wall a brass to Elenor Bowes (d. 1623), daughter of Sir Richard Musgrave of Hartley Castle, and wife of Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Scotland, Sir Robert Bowes of Aske; this brass bears the Musgrave shield. On the south porch are the arms of Scrope of Bolton, Conyers, and Aske. With the thanks of the Society to the Rev. R. B. Nesbit the proceedings terminated, and the party returned to Richmond Station for Darlington and homewards *via* Stainmoor.

Dr. Haswell subsequently communicated the following notes on heraldry observed during this excursion:—

"On the sundial at Rokeby Hall, probably fashioned from a Roman altar, are four shields carved and two blank. The four bearing charges are (1) Bowes: ermine, three longbows bent in pale gules; (2) Rokeby: argent, a chevron between three rooks sable; (3) Dacre impaling Neville: gules, three escallops argent, for Dacre; gules, a saltire argent, for Neville; (4) Dacre impaling Multon: argent, three bars gules, for Multon. Probably the sundial came from Eggleston Abbey, as the Dacres were patrons thereof, and the seal of the abbey was the Dacre arms. Bowes and Rokeby, as neighbours and families of note, would perhaps be patrons as well. Their alliances were:—

William Bowes, Kt., ob. 1465 = Jane, dau. of Ralph Dacre, Baron of Greystoke, ob. 1419.

Thomas, 7th Lord Dacre of Gilsland, ob. 1458. = Philippa, dau. of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland.

Margaret, dau. and heiress of Thomas Multon of Gilsland, ob. 1361. = Ranulph, 2nd Lord Dacre.

"The escallops, if such they be, are somewhat peculiar, but are roughly cut, and I can trace no other coat.

"The Nebulée coat on the stone in Rokeby wood above Scott's cave is possibly a Lovell coat.

"At Wycliffe Church there were two coats:—(1) Chequy or and azure, a canton ermine, for Richmond; (2), or, three chevronels gules, for (I think) Fitz Hugh."

Since our Society's visit to Rokeby the famous "Venus" of Velazquez has been bought for the National Gallery, where it now hangs (March, 1906).

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA.

Stone Implement from Gilpin Bridge.

Mr. J. A. Barnes, writing on September 12th, 1905, describes a stone implement found near Gilpin Bridge by Mr. E. Powley, in one of his fields. He says:—"The stone has a flat smooth face on one side, as though it had been used for a whetstone, and on one edge is a smooth depression that exactly fits the thumb when the stone is held in the *left* hand." It measures 5¾ inches in length, 2⅝ inches in breadth at the broader end, slightly and irregularly tapering, and ⅝ths inches in greatest thickness; and in general form somewhat resembles the celt No. 2 in the plate facing p. 143 of this volume.

Flint Arrowhead at Gosforth.

Dr. Parker, writing on October 18th, 1905, says:—"A fine flint arrowhead has been picked up in one of my fields a little west of the point marked 300 feet in the map [facing page 151 of this volume]. This is the first flint on record in the parish."

The Bow Stone.

On further cleaning this stone, after its removal to the mediæval room of the Carlisle Museum, Mr. L. E. Hope found that there was a rude cross incised on the side opposite to that which bears the vine pattern, and adjacent to that which bears the sword (see the plate facing p. 208 in these *Transactions*, N.S., V.). The cross is very rudely designed and without ornament, but seems to prove that the stone had been utilised as a recumbent monument.

Broughton-in-Furness in 1730.

Mrs. Dyson of Ulverston contributes an interesting record of Broughton residents in 1730 in the form of a land-tax account, entered on the margins of the preface to an old volume in her possession. The book is

A | VINDICATION | OF THE | SINCERITY | OF THE | Protestant Religion | In the Point of Obedience to | SOVEREIGNS | Opposed | To the Doctrine of Rebellion, authorised and | practised by the Pope and the Jesuites | In Answer to a Jesuitical Libel, Entituled | PHILANAX ANGLICUS | By PETER DU MOULIN, D.D., Canon of Christ- | Church *Canterbury*, one of his Majesties Chaplains | LONDON | Printed for *John Crook*, and are to be sold at his Shop | in *Duck-Lane*. 1667. (quarto: pp. 144.)

The MS. is as follows:—

Land tax Bill for 1730 for the high end of Broughton

Mr Latehouse

	£	s	d
	1	0	8
Wm Hartley	0	5	3
Nicls Tyson	0	2	3
Ant. Handley	0	1	11½
Jam. Gardner	0	0	4
Sim. Gardner	0	2	3
Robt. Casson	0	4	6
Jno Stainton ..	0		
Jno Christopherson		2	3
Jno prit ..			
Widd. prit.	0	1	0
Jno prit.	0	1	0
Wm picthall	0	0	8
Wm Carter: Sen: ..	0	0	4
Wm Carter: Juni: ..	0	0	8
Robt. Hartley & his mother	0	6	9
Tho Hartley	0	2	8
Robt Hartley	0	3	5
Jno Atkinson	0	3	8
Wm Jackson	0	6	6
Wm Watters	0	0	10
Wdd Askew	0	3	10
Wdd Ormandy	0	3	0
Nic. prit	0	4	[ ]
Myles penington ..	0	6	[ ]

£	s	d
4	4	1

	£	s	d
Jno Atkinson	0	2	7
Jno Stephenson	0	1	4½
Jno Stainton	0	0	6
Jno Christopherson ..	0	0	5

	s	d
It Jno Askew	0	4
Jno. Stilling	0	6
Myles Willson	2	0
Jno. Brockbank	1	10
Troughn Hall	6	8
Mr Penny	6	4½
Widd. Brockbank	1	10
Jno. Jackson	5	4
Myles Dixson	1	11½
Wm Addison	1	11½
Jno Addison	1	9½
Jno Myers	10	5½

	s	d
Jno Addison	1	4
Robt. Brockbank	2	10
Jno. Myers	1	4
Geo. [Newby?]	2	10
Rostwt	10	8
Widd. Troughton	0	8
Jno. Beck	0	9
Elin. Askew	0	4
Tho. Jackson	0	10
[J]no. Postlewt	0	7
[M]r Sawrey	3	7

£	s	d
3	11	8

	s	d
Ferdi Casson	2	9
Tho Addison	1	9
Mary Lowther	4	2
Robt Hartley	1	6
[Nic] Askew & his mother	1	3

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Jno. Denny	1 .	3½	Tho Lowther	3 .	9½
Jno. Stanley	0 .	5½	Ath: Askew	0 .	1
Wm Askew	0 .	1	Nic. Jackson	0 .	1
Agn Askew	1 .	1½			
Hugh Adison	1 .	1½	£ . s . d		
Christo. Addison	1 .	1½	1 . 3 . 11		
Jno Denny	1 .	1½		£ s	d
Chris Adison	2 .	3	totall	8 . 19 .	8

Also on an end flyleaf of "Mr Charnock's two discourses," &c. [London, 1699], is a further note on the same subject:—

To Broughton Land Tax

Beyond More pays to our gs—they pay 1s [to] every tenth.
Bank End Mosshouses & Sandside pays 1s to 11s yts one out of 12s
Rectory a 20th part.

Stocklocks.

Referring to the note on p. 193 of our last volume, Mr. J. P. Hinds sends the following information from the *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, vol. i., p. 5:—

"Stock-locks" on the doors were also a luxury: they were kept loose "in the closet," says the Claydon inventory; and in 1650, when this same London house was let, it is mentioned as quite a new idea that, as the doors are so badly injured by the continual pulling off and on of the locks, they might as well be left on permanently.

Erratum.

On page 166 above, line 4 from bottom, for Huntercombe (?) read Butencumbe, a name which Mr. F. H. M. Parker has identified in another MS. of the same period, since the article on Inglewood Forest was in type.

"BISHOP NICOLSON'S DIARIES."

Additional Notes and Corrections.

Part I., p. 22.

For Henry Fleming, who was rector (not vicar) of Asby, see *The Flemings in Oxford*, by Rev. J. R. Magrath, vol. i., p. 200, &c.

Part I., p. 26.

For the note on Bishop Smith's wife, substitute the following:—Bishop Smith's first wife was Catherine, daughter of Sir George Dalston of Dalston, and widow of Sir Henry Fletcher. By her first husband she was mother of Barbara, wife of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal. According to Sir Daniel Fleming's monument in Grasmere Church, they had eleven sons and four daughters. Thus these Miss Flemings were granddaughters of the bishop's first wife. She died at Cockermouth, April 16th, 1676, and was buried there. (See *The Flemings in Oxford*, vol. i., p. 480.) Dr. Smith became dean of Carlisle, 1671; and bishop, 1684. His second wife, Anna, died 1698; her monument is in the cathedral.

Part I., p. 29.

To the note on "foy," add "Il fosso, in che si paga il fio a quei che scommettendo acquistan carco." (Dante, *Inferno*, xxvii., 135.)

Part I., pp. 49 to 51.

I am now enabled to give some additional information concerning the Nicolson family:—

Mr. F. H. M. Parker has called my attention to a statement in Burke's *History of the Commoners*, under the pedigree of Watts of Hawkesdale, according to which the bishop's grandfather, Joseph Nicolson, had a brother Robert, who must have been father or grandfather—from the dates probably father—of the bishop's cousins, James Nicholson (chapter clerk and mayor, 1689 and 1699) and William Nicholson (mayor four times between 1688 and 1711), for Robert Nicholson is stated to have been an ancestor of Margery Jackson, who was William Nicholson's granddaughter.

Joseph, son of James Nicholson (p. 50, line 1), was rector of Whittingham.

The bishop's sister Frances was without doubt identical with "Sister Rothery," so often mentioned in the "Diary." She was unmarried May 8th, 1685; but must have married soon afterwards, for her son, Joseph Rothery, went to Oxford in February, 170$\frac{8}{9}$. He was matriculated as son of Edward Rothery, of Bank End, Cumberland.

Of the bishop's nephews, sons of John Nicolson, registrar and Chapter clerk—

Thomas was vicar of Torpenhow, 1728 to 1735.

John, husband of Mary Mauleverer, died 1758; his widow Mary wrote a MS. diary extending from 1761 to 1769, which has been shown to me by the Rev. C. H. Gem.

It appears that in addition to their children, as given in the pedigree on p. 49, there were three other sons, viz.:—Thomas, in holy orders; Clement; and William, who died 1768.

Mary Nicholson, of Linstock Castle (p. 51, line 22), was buried November 11th, 1713.

In 1711, James and Bridget Nicholson (p. 51, lines 20, 25) were living in Fetter Lane, London.

Part III., p. 2.

It is stated in the note on the Rev. George Braithwaite that he became a minor canon in 1679, but that this fact does not necessarily imply that he was by that time in holy orders. A chapter order made November 23rd, 1703, distinguished between "lay petty canons who are skilled in music" and "petty canons who are in holy orders and are not skilled in music."

Part III., p. 4, line 23.

"Sister Rothery's" frequent visits to Lowther may be accounted for by the fact that Lady Lonsdale was a Thynne, aunt of "Sister Rothery's" charges.

Part III., p. 13, line 11.

The bishop's register contains a list of all rectories and vicarages not exceeding the sum of £50 in annual value, signed "W. Carliol, Dec. 12th, 1707." Perhaps £80 in the "Diary" is a slip of the pen for £50.

Part III., p. 23, line 24.

A Grace Tate, probably daughter of the one here mentioned, wrote a letter to Bishop Nicolson in 1726 (given in Nichols, p. 613) to ask for writings about Raby Coat. Thus the Grace Tate, whose death is here recorded, was probably a sister of Archer and Mal Chambers. See note on January 25th, 170$\frac{8}{9}$.

Part III., p. 30.

To the note on the Studholme family may be added:—Cuthbert Studholme was mayor of Carlisle, 1652. Michael Studholme was one of the persons concerned in the Puritan attempts on Carlisle in 1643 and 1645. Compare the C. & W. *Transactions*, vol. ii., p. 104, and *The Flemings in Oxford*, vol. i., p. 136.

The arms of Studholme of Abbey Holme are given in C. & W. *Transactions*, vol. xii., p. 79.

Part III., p. 36.

In the note on Mr. Loste, for "rector" read "vicar."

Part IV., p. 4.

Robert Patten became P.C. of Allendale in Northumberland in 1706. He was made chaplain to Forster, general of the rebel forces in 1715, and turned King's evidence. In 1717 he published *The History of the late Rebellion, with Original Papers and the Characters of the Principal Nobleman and Gentlemen in it*, by the Rev. Mr. Robert Patten, formerly chaplain to Mr. Forster. He figures as "Creeping Bob" in Sir. W. Besant's novel *Dorothy Forster*. See Mr. J. C. Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, vol. iv., p. 80.

Part V., p. 10, line 31.

"F. Pallas" should have been read as "for Pallas."

PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEAR.

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND, vol. ii., edited by the Rev. James Wilson, M.A., Litt.D. (Constable.)

NORTHERN NOTES AND QUERIES: A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO THE ANTIQUITIES OF NORTHUMBERLAND, CUMBERLAND, WESTMORLAND, AND DURHAM, edited by Henry Reginald Leighton, of East Boldon. (M. S. Dodds, 61 Quayside, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; annual subscription, 6s., post free.) The first number (December, 1905) contains a paper on "Clerical Celibacy in the Diocese of Carlisle," by the Rev. James Wilson.

THE SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW (April, 1905) contains an article by the Rev. James Wilson, discriminating Waldeve, brother of Gospatric, abbot of Croyland, from Waldeve, brother of Dolfin, lord of Allerdale.

THE ANTIQUARY (November, 1905) contains an article by the Rev. James Wilson on the mediæval name of Old Carlisle, arguing that the Roman site of that name is the Palmcastre of Nennius and mediæval deeds.

ON SOME EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARIES OF BISHOP NICOLSON, by Henry Barnes, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. (*The New York Medical Journal*, December 9th, 1905), dealing with medical and surgical notes in the diaries.

THE ART OF ATTACK: BEING A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEAPONS AND APPLIANCES OF OFFENCE, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE AGE OF GUNPOWDER, by H. S. Cowper, F.S.A. (W. Holmes, Ltd., Ulverston; 10s. 6d.) Pp. xviii. and 312, with 356 illustrations drawn by the author, and bibliography and index.

JOHN COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, by the Rt. Hon. Sir Gainsford Bruce, D.C.L. (Blackwoods, 10s. 6d. net.)

LETTERS OF CADWALLADER JOHN BATES, edited by the Rev. Matthew Culley, of Coupland (Titus Wilson, Kendal), with portrait and memoir; pp. 176 of letters, chiefly on archæological subjects; copious index.

THE FOTHERGILLS: THEIR LIVES AND THEIR LETTERS, transcribed by Catharine Thornton and Frances McLaughlin. (Wm. Heinemann, London; Titus Wilson, Kendal; 10s. net.)

LITERARY CELEBRITIES OF THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT, by Frederick Sessions, F.R.G.S. (Elliot Stock, 6s.), pp. 238, with illustrations. Sketches of most of the writers connected with the district in the nineteenth century, Richard Braithwaite being the only one mentioned of an earlier period.

THE ENGLISH LAKES, described by W. T. Palmer, with 75 full page illustrations in colour by A. Heaton Cooper. (Black's *Beautiful Books* series, 20s. net.)

SAM BOUGH, R.S.A., by the late Sidney Gilpin. (Bell & Sons, 7s. 6d. net.)

NOTES ON THE WILKINSONS, IRONMASTERS, by Francis Nicholson, F.Z.S., from vol. 49, part iii., of *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, 1905; pp. 10.

ST. BEES PRIORY CHURCH, by the Rev. R. H. Snape, vicar. (The Grosvenor Library, 35 Chapel Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.) Pp. 19, with two illustrations.

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE GLOSSARY OF THE DIALECT OF CUMBERLAND, by E. W. Prevost, Ph.D., F.R.S.E., with a grammar of the dialect by S. Dickson Brown, M.A. (London), F.R.G.S. (Henry Frowde, London; C. Thurnam & Sons, Carlisle.)

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON (June 8th, 1905) contains a short article by H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., on a bronze dagger found at Page Bank, near Rampside in Furness; and a bronze armlet said to have been found in Furness, but of an unusual form, and belonging to the latest Bronze Age (Hallstatt period).

In Memoriam.

The Rev. Canon LEGH RICHMOND AYRE, M.A., vicar of Holy Trinity, Ulverston, died on June 14th, 1905, in his 79th year. He was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, graduating in 1850, and came into the diocese of Carlisle in 1860 as vicar of Rusland. In 1873 he was presented to the living of Holy Trinity, Ulverston; in 1878 he was appointed rural dean of Ulverston, and in 1896 he was collated to an honorary canonry of Carlisle Cathedral. Canon Ayre did much towards popularizing the antiquities of his adopted neighbourhood, editing *The North Lonsdale Magazine* (new series) and a curious little book, *The Antiquities of Furness*, by W. Fell, S.B. (School Boy), 1777. He was joint editor with the late Canon Bardsley of *The Chronicles of the Church and Town of Ulverston*, and author of a history of Holy Trinity Church and a guide to Ulverston and the Lake District. He was elected a member of our Society in 1887, and in September of that year read short papers on Swarthmoor Hall and Meeting-house (these *Transactions*, ix., p. 398).

The Very Rev. W. G. HENDERSON, D.D., Dean of Carlisle, died on Sunday night, September 24th, 1905, in his 87th year. Headmaster successively of Victoria College, Jersey; Magdalen College School, Oxford, and Leeds Grammar School, he was appointed to the deanery of Carlisle at the age of 64 without having ever held a parochial cure. He was elected a member of our Society in 1884, and vice-president in the same year.

The Rev. Canon JOHN JAMES THORNLEY, who died at Kirkoswald Vicarage on December 1st, 1905, aged 63, graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was ordained deacon in 1865 and priest in the following year by the Bishop of Carlisle. Until 1871 he was curate of St. Michael's, Workington, under the late Rev. Henry Curwen, who then presented him to the vicariate of St. John's in the same town. In 1889 Bishop Goodwin appointed him honorary canon of Carlisle, and in 1892 he was preferred by Bishop Bardsley to the living of Kirkoswald. He became a member of our Society in 1897, and contributed to these *Transactions* papers on "Children's Games as played at Kirkoswald, Cumberland" (N.S., i., art. xxi.), and "Ring-marked Stones at Glassonby and Maughanby" (N.S., ii.,

art. xxv.); also a report on finds at Old Parks, Kirkoswald (N.S., iv., Addenda). At our meeting on August 28th, 1902, he read notes on Long Meg, intended as a contribution towards the full account of pre-historic sculptured stones, which he did not live to complete.

We have also to regret the loss of:—

Mrs. JAMES HARRISON, of Newby Bridge House, a member since 1881.

Mrs. F. W. CHANCE of Morton, a member since 1899, who died on August 2nd, 1905, a few days after the election of Mr. Chance as M.P. for Carlisle.

Mr. MARTIN HAIR, elected in 1893, and for some years a Town Councillor of Carlisle, who died November 25th, 1905.

The Rev. W. LOWTHIAN, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford, vicar of Troutbeck, Windermere, a member since 1885, who died February 14th, 1906.

Mr. DAVID AINSWORTH of The Flosh, Cleator, and Wray Castle, J.P., D.L., and formerly M.P. for West Cumberland, who died February 21st, 1906; elected a member in 1879.

Sir AUGUSTUS HELDER, formerly M.P. for Whitehaven, who died March 31st, 1906; a member from 1879 to 1904.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLÓGICAL SOCIETY.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Greenwell, Rev. William, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. (Lon. and Scot.), Durham.

Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., etc., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.

Maxwell, The Right Hon. Sir Herbert E., Bart, M.P., F.S.A., Monreith, Wigtownshire.

MEMBERS.

1884 Adair, Joseph, Egremont.
1878 Ainsworth, J. S., M.P., Harecroft, Holmrook, Carnforth.
1889 Alcock-Beck, Major, Esthwaite Lodge, Hawkshead.
1874 Allison, R. A., M.P., Scaleby Hall, Carlisle.
1895 Ambleside Ruskin Book Club.
1899 Archibald, C. F., 2 Darnley Road, West Park, Leeds.
1879 Argles, Thomas Atkinson, Eversley, Milnthorpe.
1901 Armitt, Miss, Rydal Cottage, Ambleside.
1903 Arnison, N. H., 49 Wordsworth Street, Penrith.
1896 Asher & Co., Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London.
1902 Atkinson, John R., Bank Fields, Beckermet.
1903 Austin, H. J., The Knoll, Lancaster.

1884 Bagot, Col. Josceline, Levens Hall, Milnthorpe.
1884 Baker, Rev. John, M.A., Burgh-by-Sands, Carlisle.
1885 Banks, Edwin H., Highmoor House, Wigton.
1877 Barlow-Massicks, Thomas, Eben Hall, Cleator.
1875 Barnes, H., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., *Member of Council*, Portland Square, Carlisle.
1903 Barnes, J. A., Levens, Milnthorpe.

O.M. Barrow-in-Furness, The Bishop of, *President*, The Abbey, Carlisle.
1885 Barrow-in-Furness Free Library.
1881 Beardsley, Richard Henry, Grange-over-Sands.
1894 Beevor, Miss, Gonville, Croxley Green, R.S.O., Herts.
1899 Bell, W. H., F.S.A., Cleeve House, Seend, Melksham, Wilts.
1875 Bellasis, Edward, *Lancaster Herald*, College of Arms, London.
1893 Benson, Mrs., Hyning, Milnthorpe.
1899 Bentinck, Lord Henry Cavendish, Underley Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1900 Bewley, Sir Edmund T., LL.D., 40 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin.
1894 Binning, W. W. R., Eden Hey, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1902 Birch, Joseph, Kirk Style, Gosforth.
1889 Birkbeck, Robert, F.S.A., 20 Berkeley Square, London.
1879 Blair, Robert, F.S.A., Harton Lodge, South Shields.
1877 Blanc, Hippolyte J., F.S.A.Scot., 73 George Street, Edinburgh.
1899 Booker, R. P. L., M.A., F.S.A., Eton College, Windsor.
1905 Booth, Philip L., M.D., Browhead, Walney Island, Barrow-in-Furness.
1877 Boston Free Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1874 Bower, Rev. Canon, *Member of Council*, The Abbey, Carlisle.
1898 Bowman, A. N., Eden Lodge, Carlisle.
O.M. Braithwaite, Charles Lloyd, Thorny Hills, Kendal.
1905 Braithwaite, James H., Layer Breton, Kendal.
1877 Braithwaite, Mrs., Hawes Mead, Kendal.
1905 Brierley, Henry, Thornhill, Wigan.
1901 Brocklebank, Thomas, Irton Hall, Holmrook.
1888 Brougham, Lord, K.C.V.O., Brougham Hall, Penrith.
1905 Brown, Miss, Sweden How, Ambleside.
1902 Brown, Thomas, jun., 1 Lowther Street, Whitehaven.
1904 Brown, William, F.S.A., Whitehouse, Northallerton.
1878 Browne, George, Troutbeck, Windermere.
1905 Burnett, James R., Scotby, Carlisle.
1902 Burnyeat, W. C. Dalzell, Millgrove, Moresby, Whitehaven.
1880 Burrow, Rev. J. J., Ireby, Carlisle.
1906 Butler, B., Infield, Barrow-in-Furness.
1895 Butler, Wilson, B.A., Glebelands, Broughton-in-Furness.

1899 Calverley, Mrs., Hillside, Eskdale, Carnforth.
1898 Campbell, Ven. Archdeacon, M.A., The Rectory, Workington.
1878 Carey, Thomas, 23 Curzon Street, Maryport.
1905 Carlisle, The Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of, *Patron*, Rose Castle, Carlisle.

1875 Carlisle, The Earl of, *Vice-President*, 1 Palace Green, Kensington.
1899 Carlisle Public Library (L. E. Hope, Tullie House).
1906 Carlisle, the Very Rev. the Dean of, the Deanery, Carlisle.
1890 Carrick, Mrs., Oak Bank, Scotby, Carlisle.
1892 Carruthers, Richard, Eden Grove, Carlisle.
1875 Cartmell, Joseph, C.E., Spring Field, Brigham, Cockermouth.
1875 Cartmell, Rev. J. W., Christ's College, Cambridge.
1875 Cartmell, Studholme, 27 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1901 Carver, John, Greystoke, Hanger Hill, Ealing, W.
1895 Cavendish, Rt. Hon. Victor, Holker Hall, Carnforth.
1892 Chadwick, S. J., F.S.A., Lyndhurst, Dewsbury.
1905 Chambers, Charles P., Orchard Head, Broughton-in-Furness.
1899 Chance, F. W., M.P., Morton, Carlisle.
1874 Chapelhow, Rev. Joseph, D.D., Kirkandrews-on-Eden, Carlisle.
1901 Chorley Free Public Library, Chorley (E. McKnight, Librarian).
1899 Clark, John, Broughton-in-Furness.
1892 Clarke, A. B., Prospect House, Aspatria, Carlisle.
1893 Clarke, Rev. J. J., M.A., Selside Vicarage, Kendal.
1899 Clarke, W. H., M.D., Park Green, Macclesfield.
1903 Clayton, Mrs., Chesters, Humshaugh.
1905 Cock, Rev. E. H., Wetheral, Carlisle.
1894 Collingwood, A. H., Town Clerk's Office, Carlisle.
1887 Collingwood, W. G., M.A., F.S.A., *Editor*, Lanehead, Coniston.
1883 Conder, Edward, jun., F.S.A., Terry Bank, Old Town, Kirkby Lonsdale, and Conigree Manor, Newent, Gloucester.
1903 Coulthard, Dr., Aspatria.
1884 Coward, John, Fountain Street, Ulverston.
1886 Cowper, H. S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, High House, Hawkshead, Lancashire.
1888 Cowper, J. C., Keen Ground, Hawkshead.
1885 Creighton, Miss, Warwick Square, Carlisle.
1904 Crerar, Dr. J. W., Maryport.
1886 Crewdson, F. W., Summer How, Kendal.
1886 Crewdson, W. D., *Treasurer*, Helm Lodge, Kendal.
1887 Crewdson, Wilfrid H., Beathwaite, Levens, Kendal.
1897 Cropper, Arthur E., Normanhurst, Lord Street, W., Southport.
1901 Cropper, Charles J., Ellergreen, Kendal.
1896 Cropper, Rev. James, B.A., St. Andrews, Penrith.
1874 Crowder, W. I. R., 14 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1904 Cumberland and Westmorland Association (C. Maugham, Hon. Sec., The Rowans, Great Elms Road, Bromley, Kent).

1899 Curwen, Eldred Vincent, Withdeane Court, Brighton.
1887 Curwen, John F., F.S.A., *Secretary*, Heversham.
1900 Curwen, A. D., Workington Hall, Workington.
1906 Curwen, Miss Patricia, Workington Rectory.

1903 Dawe, Rev. A. P., Aspatria.
1895 Dean, Charles Walter, Beech Bank, Ulverston.
1905 DeRome, Theodore, Aikrigg End, Kendal.
1898 Dickinson, William, 33 Queen Street, Whitehaven.
1902 Dickson, Mrs. A. B., Abbots Reading, Ulverston.
1886 Dixon, T., Rheda, Whitehaven.
1896 Dobinson, William, Bank Street, Carlisle.
1894 Donald, Miss H. M., Stanwix, Carlisle.
1903 Douglas, Rev. D. G., Chestnut Hill, Keswick.
1901 Doyle, Hugh, 4 Smithfield, Egremont, Carnforth.
1900 Duckworth, T., B.A., 1 Howard Place, Warwick Road, Carlisle.
1883 Dykes, Mrs., The Red House, Keswick.
1894 Dymond, Charles William, F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A.Scot., The Castle, Sawrey, S.O., Lancashire.
1903 Dyson, Mrs., 1 Hoad Terrace, Ulverston.

1885 Ecroyd, Edward, Low House, Armathwaite, R.S.O.
1904 Elliot, E. Reginald, Eaglescliffe, R.S.O., Durham.
1904 Ewbank, Rev. J., Bolton Rectory, Mealsgate, S.O.

1901 Falcon-Steward, W. C., Newton Manor, Gosforth, Cumb.
1905 Fair, Rev. T. W., M.A., Eskdale Vicarage, Boot, by Carnforth.
1887 Farish, Edward Garthwaite, 57½ Old Broad Street, London.
1887 Farrer, William, *Vice-President*, Hall Garth, Carnforth.
1904 Farrer, Miss, Bassenthwaite, Keswick.
1895 Fawcett, John W., Broughton House, Broughton-in-Furness.
1875 Fell, John, *Vice-President*, Flan How, Ulverston.
1901 Fell, Rev. James, Christ Church, Penrith.
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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO AMBLESIDE TOWN AND CHAPEL.

While this paper was passing through the press, much additional material has, by the kindness of friends, been made available; and some few notes have been added, as well as several doubtful passages pointed out.

P. 1, line 7.—Halicar Ford, only now existing by tradition, is supposed to have been situated a short distance above what is now the upper bridge of the town, and within the present rails of the park enclosing the waterfall. Here there was, within the

memory of middle-aged inhabitants, a well-made causeway leading, by a long slant, down the steep bank of the gill. At that time it was used only for the watering of horses, as every trace of a path upward on the opposite bank had vanished. So too has this path, though it is only within the last year, I am told, that the last vestige of it disappeared.

P. 6, line 18.—Cattle-holdings. Mr. G. Browne, whose knowledge of local customs (founded on a body of tradition and his large MS. stores) is probably unequalled, considers that the 13s. 4d. holding carried with it the right to ten and not five cattle on the common. His view is certainly supported by the fact that the large holding called Master Forster Place, with a rental described as 40s. in 1453 and 43s. in 1494, is stated at the latter date (Sizergh rental) to be of thirty cattle. The following is the little document on which the presumption was founded; and as the earliest receipt of a tenant's fine I have met with, it is interesting enough to give in full:—

1587 Knowe all men by their p^r^nts that I Myles Philipson of Croke w^t^in the Countie of Westm^r^land gentleman deputed Steward under the Right Worshipfull Mr Thomas Strickland Esquire the Quenes Matie Steward of the Barranny of Kendall haue receyved the day of the date hereof of John Forrest of Amylside the Sume of xiij^s^ iiij^d^ for his whole fyne & gressome of his tenement of fyve cattells (late in the tenure and holdinge of henrye Forrest) at one whole intire payment accordinge to the use & custome & for the same I doe admitt him tenante to the Quenes Mg^tie^ accordingly In Wittnes whereof I haue subscribed my name the xxix^tie^ of Januarye and in the xxx^tie^ yeare of the Raigne of o^r^ Soveraigne Ladie Quene Elizabeth

1587

Myles Phillipson rec^r^

xiij^s^ iiij^d^

The rent of the tenement then, not quoted, must have been the small one of 6s. 8d., and the fine which John paid, as new tenant, was double the amount. More certain instances of these cattle-tenures are wanted.

P. 6, line 26.—For the splitting of holdings see "How Customary Tenure was established in Westmorland" by George Gatey, *Transactions*, Cumberland and Westmorland Society, xi.

P. 7, line 4.—For Greenhew rent see "The Barony of Kendal and Manor of Hawkshead" by W. H. Heelis, *Transactions*, Cumberland and Westmorland Society, iv.

P. 7, after line 22, insert "on change of lord, and two years rent upon entrance of a fresh tenant"; line 29, omit the instance of Edward Forrest, which was founded on a mistaken reading of altered figures.

P. 8, line 3, for "on entering a full-sized holding" read "upon change of lord."

P. 8, last line.—The grant of timber in the Barony of Kendal, made to Colonel Richard Kirkby in February, 1662-3, was probably in acknowledgment of services to the Royalist Cause (Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A.).

P. 10, line 21.—"Hubleshow," Mr. Cowper writes "Hubleshow was a word meaning a disturbance, but I believe without fighting. In the Custom of Hawkshead the penalty for a hubleshow was 3s. 4d., being six times less than that for an 'uffray,' and over three times as much as for a brawl. An old literary form is 'Hubble-shubble.'"

P. 14, line 23.—The document (which has no heading) that concerns the Stock Moss dispute of 1699, has proved upon a more careful examination of the names of the jury, not to refer to Ambleside; and this interesting example of communal self-government must therefore be passed over to Cartmel, to which it belongs. It is Mr. Browne who has most ingeniously discovered the locality to which it should be assigned.

Ps. 18 and 19.—Master Forster's Place. The editor has suggested that this might have been the residence of the Master Forester. And it is not unlikely that in early days such an official may have been posted in the hamlet, which—though near its limits—was yet surrounded by the great forest. In the Sizergh rental (1494) we find under the fees and wages of the higher officials of the Richmond Fee, "Richard Ducket, master forester of the forest of Troutbeck, 43s." Before this time the big tenement in Ambleside had been broken up into three holdings.

P. 26, last line but one.—For "executive" read "executors'."

P. 41, line 29.—For "rectors of Ambleside" read "rectors of Grasmere."

P. 56, note.—for "entitled" read "endebted."

P. 73, line 13.—"Gallews," Mr. Browne considers that the gallon is here referred to, which was a large milk-pail made of staves, bound with hoops (often of copper) narrowing to the top, to prevent the spilling of milk when carried; and of which one stave, higher than the rest, served as handle.

GENERAL INDEX.

(SEE ALSO INDEXES TO "AMBLESIDE," p. 361; "HERALDRY," pp. 204-236; "BURIALS AT SUNBRICK AND AT SWARTHMOOR," pp. 275-282.)

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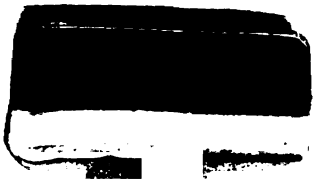
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